

A
RELATION
OF THE STATE OF
Religion: and with what Hopes and
Pollicies it hath beene framed, and is maintai-
ned in the severall states of these westerne
parts of the world.

By Sir Francis Sandys



LONDON,
Printed for Simon Waterford dwell-
ling in Paules Churchyard at the
signe of the Crowne.
1605

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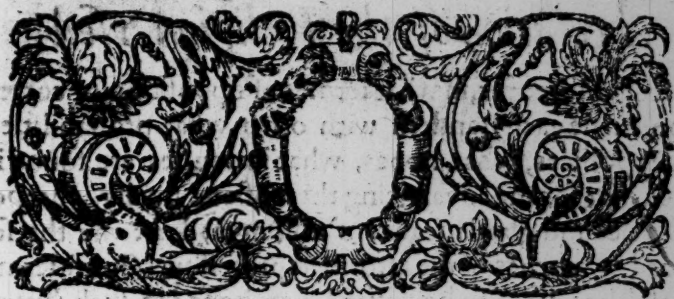
RELATION
OF THE STATE OF

Religion: and which relates to the
Policies it has been found and is maintain-
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parts of the world.

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1607



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State of Religion, and with what
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Aving now almost finished my intended course of travell, and comming to cast vp (as it were) the short account of my labours, I shall heere endeavour briefly to relate what I have observed in the matter of Religion, my time being chiefly imployed (as was from the first my principall

designe) in viewing the state thereof in these Westerne parts of the world, their divided factions and professions, their differences in matters of faith, and their exercises of religion, in government Ecclesiasticall, and in life & conversatioⁿ, what vertues in each kind eminent, what eminent

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defects. Moreover, in what termes of opposition, or correspondencie each standeth with other, what probabilities, what pollices, what hopes, what ieaiousies are found in each part for the aduancing thereof: and finally, what possibilities and good meanes of vniting, at leastwise the severall branches of the reformed professours (if vnitie vniuersall bee more to be desired then hoped in such bitterness of minde, & equalitie of forces as leaveth on neither side, either dispositio to yeeld, or doubt to be vāquished.)

In the midst of these thoughts not intending to deliver a full report of all these points, which would too much exceede a reasonable proportion, but restraining my selfe chiefly to such parts and places as may seeme most necessarie for one of my Countrey to know.

*The Romane
Religion*

I **F**irst, the Roman Religion, framed in those middle times when there was no man to controll them, did light into the handling of such men as made their greatnesse welth and honor, the verie rule to square out the Cannons of faith, and then did set Clarke on worke to devise Arguments to maintaine them.

2 This Religion seemeth notwithstanding at this day, not so corrupt in the very doctrine (and in their Schooles, where yet manifold oppositions doe hold them in awe, that hath caused them to refine it) as it is in the practise here of, and in the vsage among themselves, wherein they are so grosse: as that sundry men whom the reading of their Bookes hath allured, the view of their Churches hath ayerted from their partie.

3 I must omit an endlesse multitude of their superstitions and ceremonies, for they are enough to take vp a great parte of a mans life to peruse, beeing without vniformitie, and different in diuerse Countreyes, and withall so childish and vsavourie, that as they argue scelineesse and rawnesse in their inuenters, so can they bring no other then disgrace and contempt to those exercises

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of Religion wherein they are stirring.

4 How they communicate diuine honour to Saints & Angels, by building Churches, erecting Altars, commending prayers, & addressing vowes vnto them, in worshipping their Images, going in pilgrimage to their Reliques, attributing all kind of miracles both to the one & to the other, I will in this place reſtaine my ſelfe eſpecially to *Italia*, where it hath wrought this generall effect, that men haue more affiance, and aſſume vnto themſelves a greater conceit of comfort in the patronage of the creatures and ſervants of God, then of God himſelfe, the Prince & creator. And touching the bleſſed virgin, the caſe is cleare, that howſoever their Doctrines be in ſchools otherwiſe, yet in all manner of outward Actions, the honour which they do vnto her, is double, for the moſt part, vnto that which they do our Saviour: where one profeſſeth himſelfe a *devote* or peculiar ſervant to our Lord, whole Townes ſometimes, as *Vienna*, &c. are the *Devoti* of our Ladie, The ſtateliſt & faireſt Altars are hers, for the moſt part, where one prayeth before the Crucifixe, two pray before her Images, where one vowe vnto Chriſt, tenne vow vnto her, & not ſo much to her ſelfe, as to ſome particular Image of hers, which for ſome notable power and grace of operation of miracles they chiefly ſerve, as the glorious Ladie of *Loretto*: the devout Ladie of *Rome*: the myraculous Lady of *Provenſano*: the *Annuntiata* of *Florence*, all whoſe Churches are ſo ſtuffed with vowed preſents and memories, as they are faine to hang their Cloiſters and Churchyardes with them. And ſuch as their vowes are, ſuch are their Pilgrimages; and to nourish this honour, for one miracle reported to be wrought by the Crucifixe, not ſo fewe, perhaps, as one hundred are voiced vpon thoſe other Images, neither will I omit this no leſſe certaine, though leſſe apparant, that where one faſteth on Friday, which they account our Lords day, many faſt on Saturday which they account our Ladies day, in honour to her. In all which the
people

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people do but folow their guides; who, as in the measuring of their devotion by tale on beades, doe string vp ten salutations to our Lady, for one of our Lords prayers. So themselves also in their Sermons, make their entrance with an *Aue Maria*, yea a solemne divine honour which they have, most commendable, if it were well vsed: that at Sun rising, none, and Sunne setting, vpon the ringing of a bell, all men, in what place soeuer, house, hielde, streete, or market, doe presently kneele downe, and send vp their vnited deuotions to heaven. This honour is by them chiefly intended to our Ladie, the devotion is the *Aue Maria*, and the bell that ringeth to it, hath also that name. They teach in pulpit, that nothing passeth in heaven without her expresse consent. That the stile of that court, is, *Placet Domino*, that matters of Iustice come properly from Christ, and matters of Grace from her, that it was the vision of a holy man, that certaine that would have beene condemned by Christ, in regard they were her servants, have bin absolved by her intercession. So the principall streames of affiance and love, are diuerted from him, and turned vpon those vnto whom so great honour is not due, nor so vndue honour can be acceptable.

5 Their Liturgies being not vnderstoode by the people, are not able to holde them occupied with any spirituall contemplation: for supply whereof, they hold them to their channing with their beades in the meane season, which being so vsfauory a soode as it is, they vse it accordingly: when they are wearie of it, they entertaine the rest of their time with talke and mirth, which their Priestles themselves also at their leisures forbear not, not forgetting yet at certaine pauses to shew devotion, wherein their outward iestures are decent, reverent, and significant: And this honour is to be yeelded to the Italian nation, that hee is naturally not vndeuous, were his devotion duely guided and cherished, and not starved and quenched in the darke mist of a language, which hee neither vnderstands

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stands what is saide to him, not yet what himselfe sayeth.

6 The best part of their exercises of Religion, are their Sermons, wherein much matter, both of faith and piety is eloquently delivered, by men surely of wonderfull zeale & spirite, if their interior fervor were correspondent to their outward fervencie; howbeit they are sometimes mingled with so palpable vanitie (as besides their other poverties, as forced allegories, and vnnaturall interpretations, wherein they are fervent,) they have legends of Saints, and tales (at which children with vs would smile) solemnly historized in their Cathedrall Pulpits; yet what religiousnesse soever is the peoples mindes may wholly bee attributed to their Sermons, whither the better disposed people doe resort.

This one thing I cannot but highly commend in that sort and order: they spare nothing, which either cost can performe in inriching, or skill in adorning the Temple of God, or to set out his service with the greatest pompe and magnificence that can be devised. And although for the most part, much basenesse and childishnesse is predominant in the maisters and contrivers of their ceremonies, yet this outward state and glorie being well disposed, doth ingender, quicken, increase, and nourish, the inward reverence, respect, and devotion which is due vnto soveraigne maiesty and power. And therefore, howsoever some will not be perswaded in it, yet in the zeale of the common Lord of all, I chuse rather to commend the vertue of an enemy, then to flatter the vice and imbecility of a friend.

7 But to returne to the Church of *Rome*, and to come to the consideration of their penance and confession, out of which, so great good is promised to the world, and the want thereof so much vpbraided to their opposites. I must confesse I brought with mee this perswasion and expectation, that surely in this must needs bee a very great

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restraint to wickednesse, a great meanes to bring men to integrity and perfection, when a man shal daily, as it were, survey his actions, censure with griefe, confesse with shame, cure by counsell, expiate with punishment, extinguish with firme intent, never to returne to the like again; whatsoever had defiled or stained the soule, (neither doubt I but it had this fruit in the first institution, & hath also with many at this day, yea and might perhaps have bin restored better in reformed Churches, to their primitive sincerity, the vtterly abolished, as in most places it is:) Notwithstanding, having diligently searched into the meaning thereof in those parts, I finde, that as all thinges whereof humane imbecillitie hath the custodie and government, fall away, decaying by insensible degrees, from their first perfection and purity, and gather much soile & drosse in vsing: so this as much as any thing. For this point of their religion, which in outward shewe carrieth a face of severitie and discipline, is become of all others, the most remisse and pleasant, and of the greatest content to the desolatest mindes, the matter being growne with the common sort to this open reckoning: What neede wee refraine so fearefully from sinne, God having provided so ready a meanes to be rid of it when we list? yea, and the worser sort will say; When wee have sinned we must confesse, and when wee have confessed, we must sinne againe, that we may also confesse againe, and with all, make work for new indulgences and iubilees; making account of confession, as drunkards do of vomiting: yea, I have knowne of those that carried shew of very devoute persons, who by their owne report, to excuse their acquaintance in matters criminal, have wittingly periured themselves in iudgement, only presuming of this present and easie remedy of confession, and others of more ordinarie note amongst them, who when their time of confessing was at hand, would then venture on those actions which before they trembled at, as presuming to surfet, by reason of the neighbor-

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borhood of the Phisition, which Phisition also himselfe is perhaps more apparantly infected with the noysome diseale his patient discloseth, then the patient, who is not anie way bettered by the connsell which the Phisition giueth.

But this must be granted to be the fault of the people, yet a generall fault is it, and current without controlement; howbeit, neyther are Priests, nor the people to be more excused on their part. The Priests will tell the penitent, that God is mercifull, that whatsoever sinnes the penitent committeth, so long as hee continueth in the Church, and is not a *Lutheran*, there is, good remedie for him.

And for Penance, it consisteth ordinarily but in *Ave-maries* and *Paternosters*, with *Almes-deedes* by those that are able, and *fastings* by them that are willing; yea, I have knowne, when the pennance for horrible, and open blasphemie, besides much other lewdnesse hath beene no other, then saying of their *Beades* thrice over, a matter of some houres muttering; and which in *Italy* they dispatch also as they goe in the streetes, or as they ride, or doe their buisinesse at home, making no other of it, then as it is, two lips, & one fingers work. But were the penance by the Priests enioyned, never so hard and sharp, the Popes plenary pardons sweepe all away at a blow: Now of these they have granted (and this man especially) so huge a nūber, as that there are few Churches of note in *Italy*, which have not purchased or procured a perpetuall Indulgence, by vertue whereof, whosoever shall at certaine set yearely daies, being confessed, and having communicated, or as in some pardons, having but only an intent to confesse and communicate in time convenient powreth out his deuotions before som Altar in that Church and extendeth forth his hands in almes, in behalfe therof, (which clause in al former grants was expressed, but is now left out for avoiding of scandale but is still vnder-

*Pardons and
Indulgences.*

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stood and practised accordingly) hath forthwith remission of all sinne and punishment; yea, if the worst fall out, that a man be so negligent as to drop into Purgatory at the time of his decease, which but by very supine negligence can hardly happen; yet few Cities are there, wherein there are not one or two Altars privileged, *Pro defunctis*, where for everie Masse, a soule is delivered, and so a great multitude of Artilons must needs make their ware cheape. I will not heere warble long vpon this vntuneable harsh string, neyther will mention perhaps, the fourth part of that I have seene, much lesse rake old rustie stuffe out of the dead dust and darknesse, wherein time and shame hath suffered it to rest: onely for example sake, and for verifying what I have said, I will set downe some of that which is now in vse at this day, which is printed on their Church doores, and proclaymed in their Pulpits.

8 In the Ermitanes of *Padua*, their Preachers publish pardon of plenarie indulgence from Baptisme, to the last confession, with eight and twentie thousande yeares over for the time ensuing. The pardon of *Alexander the sixt* for thirtie thousand yeares; to whom soever before the Altar of our Ladie, shall say a peculiar *Ave Marie*. At the Sepulchre of Christ in *Venice*, is a stately presentation, whereon is written, *Hic situm est corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi*; (yet inferring no reall presence there as I take it) with verses annexed of, *Condisur hoc tumulo, &c.* There is hanged in a printed Table, a prayer of Saint *Augustines*, a very good one indeed, with indulgence for fourescore and two thousand yeares, granted from *Boniface the eight*, and confirmed by *Benedict the 11.* to whosoever shall say it, and that for every day *toties, quoties, &c.* (which is somewhat worth) that in a few daies a man may provide for a million of worlds, if they did last no longer then this did in Saint *Francis* Church. At *Padua* I heard a Reverend
Father

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Father preach at large the holy history of the divine pardon of *Sisa ab omni culpi & pœna*, granted by Christ in person at our Ladies suit, vnto Saint *Francis*, extending to all such, as having confessed and communicated, should pray in Saint *Francis* Church there, yet sending him to his Vicar, Pope *Honoring* that then was to passe it, with many other apparitions and delectable strang accidents of great content to pleasant minded hearers, which pardon is since enlarged by *Sixtus* the fourth, and fifth (which both were *Franciscans*) to all lay brethren and sisters that did weare Saint *Francis* Cordon, in what place soever. *Gregory* the thirteenth hath granted to the Carmine at *Syenna*, for everie Masse said there at the Altar of the Crucifixe, the deliverie of a soule out of Purgatorie, to the Carmine at *Padua* more liberally, for to everie one that shall say seven *Aves*, and seven *Pater nosters*, before one of their Altars on the Wednesday in Easter weeke, or kisse the ground before the Altar of the blessed Sacrament with the vsuall prayers for the exaltation of the Church, extirpation of heresie, and vnitie of Christian Princes, plenary Indulgence for himselfe, and the deliverie of what soule out of Purgatory he pleaseth. To the fraternitie of the Altar of the Conception of our Ladie in *Duano*, or the Cathedrall Church in *Padua*, confessing and communicating at their entrie into that societie, full remission of their sinnes at the houre of their death, naming but *Iesus* with their mouth, or if they can not, with their heart: the like is ordinarily graunted to all other Fraternities. To everie Priest as often as he shall say five printed lines, importing that he wil offer vp the precious bodie of our Saviour, so many fiftie yeares pardon. By this Pope, this one amongst many others innumerable to the Friers, & lay Fraternities of both sexes of the Carmine in *Syenna* for everie time that they are present at their solemn Processions, plenary Indulgences for all their sinnes past, and 40 yeares, & 7 daies over, to some for to come, & this for ever, with extēt of like

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grace to all other, that by their presence shall honor those processions, but to last no longer then till the yeare of Iubile. Now besides these and infinite other of this stile, there are Indulgences more free, and lesse restrained then for time, place, or duty, to give them by grant from Pope *John* the twenuth, every inclining of the head at the name of Iesus, getteth twentie yeares pardon, a matter in *Italy*, no not at this time vnpractised. And to grace that ceremonie the more, I have heard sundry of their renowned Divines teach in Pulpit, that Christ himselfe on the Crosse bowed his head, all Altars of station, which are in very great number, haue their certaine perpetuall Indulgences indifferent for all times, sundrie Crosse graven in Pavements of their Churches, have Indulgences annexed for everie time they are kissed, which is so often by the devouter sex, that hard Marble is worne with it. The third and fourth Masse (as they say) is a preservative and ransom of his parents from Purgatorie, yea though they should be sung without any such intention, which causeth many waye men which would bee sure from Purgatorie, to make some one of their children a Priest alwaies. The saying of the Beades over, with a Medall or other trinket of the Popes benediction appendant, getteth plenarie Indulgence and deliverie of what soule out of Purgatorie one pleaseth.

Their conversacion of Italian Romanistes.

9 For to speake also somewhat of their life and conversation, & as briefly as may be (being a theam I take very smal delight to handle) neither being of any great profit to be knowne & yet being knowne sufficiently to all men, too much to some, who not content to spot themselves with al Italian impurity, proceed on to impoyson their Country also at their returne hither, that we need not marvaile if those rare villaines which our ancestors never dreamed of, do now grow frequent, and such men as they would have swept out of their Cities and streets, as the noysome disgrace and dishonour of them, and confined to a Dungeon

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or other desolate habitation, doe vaunt themselves now, & with no meane applause, for the onely gallants and worthie spirits of the world.

But to touch so much of their lives as shall bee necessarie for this purpose, and rather the causes then the effects themselves, it is not to bee marvailed, if the glorie of their Religion, (consisting most in outvvard shewe, and the exquisitenesse in the number of intricate dumbe Ceremonies, if their devotions being not seasoned vvith vnderstanding requisite, but prised more by tale then by weight of zeale, if as by the vertue of their Sacraments, of their actes of pietie, being placed more in the verie massie materialitie of the outvvarde vvorke, then in the puritie of the heart from vvhich they proceede) it is not, I say, to bee marvailed though the fruites also of their conversation bee like vnto those rootes, rather such as may yeelde some reasonable outvvarde obedience to Lawes, then approove that inwarde integritie and sinceritie of that founraine from whence they issue. For although in their civil carriage one towards another, they have especiall good vertues, well worth the imitating, beeing a people, for the most part, of a grave and stayed behaviour, very respectiue and curteous, not curious, or meddling in other mens matters, besides that auncient frugalitie in their dyet, which to their great ease and benefite they still retaine.

And there bee also amongst them, as in all other places, some men of excellent and rare perfection, yet can it not bee dissembled, but that generally the whole Countrey is strongly overflowne & overcome vvith vvickednesse, vvith filthinesse of speech, vvith beastlinesse of actions, both governors & subiects, both priests & Friers, each striving (as it vvere) vvith other in impudencie therein, even so farre forth, that vvhat in other places vvoulde not be tollerated, is there in high honor, vvhat elsevvhere even a lose person would be ashamed to cōfesse, their priests
and

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and Friers refraine not openly to practise, yea, if any man forbear the like, they finde it very strange, & hold integrity for little better then seeliness or abiectnesse. I cannot heere forget the saying of an Italian Gentleman of verie good qualitie, but in faction Spanish, at my first entry into *Italy*: namelie that the Italians were excellent men but for three faults they had: in their lust they were vnnaturall; in their malice vnappealeable, and that they would deceive all men. Vnto which he might truly haue added; They spend more vpon other men, then vpon themselves, they blaspheme oftner then swear, and murder more then reuile or slander: notwithstanding, this testimony I yeelde, not onely willingly, but gladly to them: (for what ioy could it be to the heart of any man, to see men fall irrecoverably from the love and lawes of the Creator:) That at one time of the yeare, (namely at Lent,) they are much reformed, no such blaspheming or durty speaking, their vanities of all sorts reasonably laid aside, their pleasure abandoned, their apparrell, their diet & all things else composed to austerity & state of penance. They have daily their preaching with collection of almes whereof all men resort: and to iudge of them by the outward shew, they seeme to have generally a great remorse of their wickednesse: inso much, that I must confesse, I seemed to my selfe in *Italy*, to have learned the right vse of Lent, there first to have discerned the right fruit of it, and the reason for which those sages at the first did institute it; neither can I easily accord to the fancies of such (as because wee ought at all times to leade a life worthy of our profession) thinke it therefore superstitious, to have one time wherein to exact or respect it more then another: But rather doe this conceive, that seeing the corruption of the times and wickednesse of mans nature is now so exorbitant, that a hard matter it is, to hold the ordinary sort of men at all times within the lists of piety, iustice, and sobriety, it is fit therefore that their should be one time at least in the yeare, & that of

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of a reasonable continuance, wherein the season it selfe, the vse of the world, and practise of all men (for euen the Iewes and Turkes have their Lent, though different) the commaundement of superious, and in some the verie outward face and expectation as it were of all thinges, should constraine men (how wicked and retchlesse soever) for that time to recall themselves to some more severe cogitations and courses, lest sinne having no such Bridle to checke it at anie time, should at length waxe headstrong and vnconquerable in them; that on the other side being thus necessarily invred for a while, at least wise to make a bare shewe of walking in the pathes of vertue, they might afterwards perhaps more sincerelie, and willinglie persist, or at least wise returne more readily vnto them some other time. And verily I have sundry times had this cogitation in *Italie*, that in great loosenesse of life, and decay of discipline in those partes, it was the speciall great mercie and grace of God, that the severitie of Lent should be still preserved, least otherwise the fouds of sinne growing so headstrong, and outragious, and having no where, wither bound or banke to restrain them; might plunge that whole Nation into such a gulfe of wickednesse, and bring them to that last extremitie, which should leave the neither hope for better, nor place for worse: yea & I was so farre from thinking the institution of Lent superfluous, or the restraint in it vnprofitable, that I rather inclined to like the custome of the Greeke Church, who besides their great Lent, have three other Lents also in the year, though the other neither so long, nor yet so strict a generall observation. Two things are further to be added in the honour of *Italie*: Their Monasteries seemed, for the most part, to bee greatly reformed of that they have beene, and of that they still are in Fraunce, and other places, where their loosenesse of governmēt, and often scandalles ensuing, dooth breed them a repu-

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ration cleane contrarie to their profession, and the reason is while the Monasteries and Covent of Friers are not reformed: there is a feare that the Pope hath, that over-great severitie woulde cause a great number to disfrier themselves, and flie to *Geneva*, vppon hope of more lyberie, which hee esteemeth an inconvenience, more to be thunned, then the former mischeise. An other thing verie memorable, and to be imitated in *Italie*, is the exceeding good provisions of Hospitals and houses of pietie, for olde Persons enfebled, for poore folkes maimed or diseased, for Gentillitie impoverished, for travellers distressed, for lewd women converted, for children abandoned, which the devotion of former times have founded and enriched, and this present age dooth verie faithfully & discretely governe, and if it were not for those houses, in the number, goodlynesse, and great renewes whereof, *Italie* exceedeth anie one Countrey in the world, it might be said to be poore and miserable: for though it be incomparably the richest Nation in Christendome at this day in all the West parts, by reason of their long peace, and their neighbours long warres, yet considered that their welth there, is so ill digested, and so vnequally divided in the bodie thereof, by the infinitenesse and ever-sucking veynes of their taxes and customs, carrying all their blood to the higher partes, and leaving the lower readye to faint, starve, and wither, It is not vntruly sayde, that the rich men of *Italie* are the richest, and the poore the poorest creatures, that any one Countrey can yeelde againe, both which in a well pollicied state were to be avoyded. Besides these Hospitalls, they have their houses of free loane to the poore, which is soe helpe, seeing *Italie* of all other places is most infected with Vsurie,

But now to come to the view of their Ecclesiasticall government, how it is referred to the conduct of soules to their true happinesse (which should be the naturall and proper

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proper end of that regiment, whereof I can say little,) and how it is addressed to the vpholding of their worldly power, and glory of their Order, to the advancing of their part, and overthrow of their opposites, which I suppose to be the chiefe point they now respect; as I thinke it may be truly said, that there was never yet state framed by mans wit in the world, more powerfull and forcible to worke those effects, never any more wisely contrived and plotted, more constantly and diligently put in practise and execution, that if the foundation bee free from vntruth and dishonestie (for rottenesse of heart is an infirmitie which will ruine all strength builded thereon) their outward meanes were sufficient to subdue a whole world. Now as in every Art and Science there are some certaine propositions, vpon the vertue whereof all the rest depend, so in their art also they have certaine assertions which as indemonstrable principles they vrge all to receive & hold in this maner. 1 That they are the church of God, within the which there is great facility, and without which there is no possibilitie of salvation. 2 That diuine prerogative is granted vnto them abve all the people in the world, which doth preserve them everlastingly from erring in matters of faith, and from falling from GOD. 3 That the Pope being Christes deputie, hath the keyes of heaven in custodie, to admit in by Indulgence, & shut out by excommunication, as he shall see cause. 4 That the charge of all soules being committed to him, he is thereby made soveraigne prince of this world, exceeding in power and maiestie all other princes, as far as the soule in dignitie doth exceed the bodie, & eternall things surmount things temporall: and seeing the end, is the ruler and commander of whatsoever doe tend vnto it, and all things in this world are to serve but as instruments; and the world it self but as a passage to our everlasting habitation. 5 That therefore he that hath the managing of this high honour to be the supream conductor vnto it, hath also power to dispose

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of all things subordinate as may best serve to it, to plant, to roote out, to establish, to depose, to bind, to loose, to alter, to dispence, as may serve most fitte for the advancement of the church, and for the atcheving of the soules felicitie, wherein whosoever oppose against him, whether by Heresie or Schisme, they are no other then verie Rebels or seditious persōs, against whom he hath vnlimited & endlesse power, to proceede to the suppressing, ruining and extinguishing of them by all meanes that the Common- welth of God may florish in prosperitie, and the high way to heaven bee kept safe and open for all Gods loyall and obedient people. In these poynts no doubtess or questions are tolerable. And whoso with them ioyne in these, shall find great connivence, in what other defect or difference soever: this being the very touchstone by which all men are to be tried, whether they be in the Church, or out of the Church; whether with them, or against them: and by this plott have their wits erected in this worlde, a Monarchie more potent then ever any that have bene before it: A Monarchie, which intitling them (*de iure*) to all the world, layeth a strong foundation thereof in all mens consciences, (the onelie firme ground of obedience in the worlde) and such a foundation, as not onely holdeth fast vnto them whatsoever it seazeth on, but worketh outwardly also by engines, to weaken, and vndermine the states of all other Princes howe great so ever, and that in such sort, as by possessing themselves of the principall places, the hearts of their subiects (as being those from whome they have their principall good, even the happinesse of their soules) to incite vpon everie conscience a gaynest their naturall Sovereaigne at pleasure, and by a writte of Excommunication to svbdue, or at leastwise greatly to shake whom they list, without fighting a blow, without leavying a Souldier; & lastly, a Monarchie which as it was founded by meere witte, needeth not anie thing but meere witte to mainetaine it, which enricheth

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richeth it self without labouring, warreth without endangering, rewardeth without spending, vsing Colledges to a great purpose, as others can fortresses, & working greater matters, partly by Schollers, partly by swarmies of Friars, than else they could ever doe by great garrisons & armies. And all these maintained at other mens charges, for to that rare poynt have they also proceeded, as not onely to have huge rents themselves out of other mens states, but to maintaine also their instruments out of other mens deuotions, and to advance their favorites, vnder the faire pretence of providing for Religion, to the verie principall preferments in forraine Princes Dominions. That no man need find it strange, if finding the renew of skill and cunning to be great, and their force mightie, especially what they worke vpon simplicitie, and ignorance. They inclosed in times past all learning within the wals of their Cleargie, setting forth *Ladie Ignorance* for a great Saint to the Laitie, and shewing her vnto them for the true mother of Devotion. And assuredly, but for one great defect in their pollicy, which was hard in regard of their owne particular ambition, but otherwise not impossible to be avoided; That they choose their Pope lightly verie old, and withall, without any restraint of all Families and Nations, whereby they are continually subiect to double change of government: The Successor seldome prosecuting his Antecessors devices, but eyther crossing them through envie, or abandoning them vpon new humour, it could not have been, but they must have long since beene absolute Lords of all: which defects notwithstanding (so strong was their pollicy by reason of the force of their Cardinall foundation:) That no Prince, or Potentate ever opposed against them, but in fine, even by his owne Subjects, they eyther mastered him, or vtterly brought him to good conformitie, by great losse and extremitie, tll such time as in his latter age the bottom of the foundation it selfe being stoutly discovered, hath given them a

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fore blow, hath changed in great part the state of the question, and hath driven them to a re-inforcement of new inventions and practises.

12 Howbeit those positions being the ground of their state, and the hope of their owne glory, in them they admit no shadow of alteration, but indeavour still *per fas & nefas*, euen by all the meanes in the world to strengthen them, and (amongst their manifold aduersaries) hate them most of all other, who have laboured most in stopping of that foundation. And seeing that by reason of this bookish age, they have not that helpe of ignorance which in times past they had, they cast about greatly to soake and settle them in mens perswasions and consciences by another way: They tell men, that the very gound whereon we build our perswasion of the truth of Christianity it self, are no other then credible: That the proofes of the Scripture to be the word of God can be no other at this day than probable, onely being impossible for any wit in the world to produce, exact, necessary, and infallible demonstrations: Eyther that the holy Apostle Saint *Paule* had his calling from above, or that, those Epistles were of his writing, so likewise in the rest, and that the chiefe proofe that we have therof, is the testimony of the church, a thing which their very aduersaries are forced to confesse. Now that this probable perswasion of the truth of Christianity doth afterward grow to an assurednesse therof, this issueth from an inward operation of Gods diuine spirit, the gift whereof is faith; and that faith being a knowledge, not of bare science, but of beleefe, which searcheth not the particular necessitie of the veritie of things delivered, but relieth in generall vpon the approoved wisdom, truth and vertue of him that doth deliver it. Then surely, who-soever will have necessarie proofe of the severall Articles of Religion, doth but wittily deceive himselfe, and by over-curious indeavour to chaunge his faith into science, doth loose that which he seeketh to perfect:

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If then without faith there is no possibly of Salvation, this surely must needs be the hie way to perdition. Now seeing christianitie to be a doctrine of faith, a doctrine whereof all men, even children are capable, as being grosse, and to be beleevd in generall: The high vertue wherof is in the humility of vnderstanding, and the merite in the readinesse of obedience to imbrace it (for these have beene alwaies the true owners of faith.) And seeing the outward proofes are no other than probable, and of all probable proofes, the Church testimonie is most probable: what madnesse were it for any man to tire out his soule, and to waste away his spirites, in tracing out all the thorhy paths of the controversies of these daies, wherein to erre is no lesse easie than dangerous, what through forgery abusing him, through Sophistrie transporting him, and not rather to betake himselfe to the right path of trueth, wherennto God and Nature, Reason and Experience doe all give witness: and that is to associate himselfe to that Church, whereunto the custody of this heavenly and supernaturall trueth hath beene from heaven it selfe committed, to weigh discretely which is the true Church, and that being once found, to receive faithfu'ly and obediently without doubt or discussion whatsoever it delivereth. Nowe concerning the first point some doubt might be made, if there were any Church Christian in the world to be shewed which had continued from Christs time downe to this age, without change or interruption, this only excepted: But if all other have had their end or decay long since, or their beginning but of late, if theirs bee founded by the Prince of the Apostles, with promise by him, That hel gates should not prevaile against it, but that himselfe would be assisting to it, vntill the consummation of the world, which hath continued on, now to the end of a thousand sixe hundred and foure yeares, with an honourable and certaine line of two hundred and fortie Popes, all beeing Successours of Saint Peter; both Tyrants and Traitors.

both

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both Pagans, and Heretiques, in vaine wrestling raging barking, and vndermining, if all the lawfull Councels that ever were in the world, being the general Senates of Gods officers and Ministers have from time to time approved, obeyed, and honored it; if God have so miraculously blessed it from above, as that so many sage Doctors should enrich it with their writings, such armies, yea millions of Saints with their holines, of Martires with their blood, of Virgins with their puritie, should sanctifie and seale it; if their Church have beene a ruine alwaies to them that opposed against her, a stay, repose, and advancement to all her followers; if even at this day in such difficulties of rebellions and revolts of her neereft children, yet she stretcheth out her armes to the vitermost corners the world, embracing whole Nations into her bosome; If lastly in all other opposite Churches whatsoever, ther be nothing to be found but inward dissention and contrarietie, chage of opinions, vncertainie of resolutions, robbing of churches, rebellion against Governors, confusion of orders, nothing to be attended but mischese, subversion, and destruction (which they have well deserved, and shall assuredly have) whereas contrary, in their Churches, the vnitie vndivided, the obedience vnforced, the resolutions vnalterable, the most heavenly order reaching from the height of all power, to the very lowest of all subiection, with admirable harmonic, and vndefective correspondencie, all tending to the same way, to the effecting of the same worke, did promise no other than continuance, increase, and vistorie. Let no man doubt to submit himselfe to this glorious spouse of God, on whose head is the blessing of God, in whose hand is the power of God, vnder whose feet are the enemies of God, & to whom round about do service all the creatures of God. This then being accorded to be the true Church of God, it followeth that shee be reverently obeyed in all things, without further inquisition, having this warrant, That whoso heareth her, heareth

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eth Christ, and whoſoever heareth her not, hath no better place then a Publican or a Pagan. And what folly were it to receive the Scripture vpon the credit of her authority, and not to receive the interpretation alſo vpon her authority and credite? And if GOD ſhould not protect his Church alwaies from error, and peremptorily command all men to obey her, then had hee made but ſlender proviſion for the Salvation of mankind, to whome error in matter of faith is certaine damnation; which concept of God (whoſe care of vs, even in all thinges touching this tranſitorie life, is ſo plaine and evident) were vngratefull and impious. And hard were the caſe, and meane had beene his regard of the vulgar people, whoſe wants and difficulties in this life will not permit; whoſe capacities will not ſuffice, to ſound the deepe and hidden myſteries of divinity, to ſearch out intricate controverſies, if there were not other, whoſe authority they might rely on: Bleſſed therfore are they which beleewe and have not ſeen, the merite of whoſe religious humilitie and obedience, doth exceede perhaps in honour and acceptation before God, the ſubtill and profound knowledge of many other. And laſtly, if any man, either in regard of his vocation, or reaſon of his leaſure, liſt to ſtudie the controverſies, let him take heede he come not with a doubtfull minde vnto the, (for diffidence is as the ſinne of rebellion) let him be ſtedfaſt in faith, let him ſubmitt his owne reaſon to the Churches authoritie, being the houſe of God, the pillar and ground of truth, let him be faſt and immoveably built vpon that foundation, and let his end onely bee this; to furniſh and arme himſelfe in ſuch ſort, as to bee able to withſtand and overthrow thoſe heretiques, when, they ſhall at any time choſe or chance to encounter, This is the maine courſe of of their perſwading at this day, whereby they ſeek to re-eſtabliſh that former foundation: In the vnſolding whereof, I have beene the longer, becauſe triall hath taught mee that not by ſome mens private election, but as it ſhould

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seeme by common order, direction, or consent, they have relinquished all other courses, and doe hold them to this as the most effectuall meanes, by the way of perswasion to worke this designe. In considering whereof, there cometh to my minde, that diversity which a wise Philosopher hath intimated in the wits of men; That some are of so sharpe, deepe, and strange discourse, that they yeelde not their assent vnto any thing vntill they have found out, either some proper demonstration for it, or some other certaine prooffe whereon to ground it shuredly, Others are so shallow and weake in that faculty, that they feare alwaies error: and therefore doe more willingly accord to whatsoeuer some of account for wisdom doe barely affirme, then to any thing which this reason alone (which they suspect) inferreth. Now these latter exceeding the other, as farre in number, as in worthynesse and honour of nature, they are exceeded by them; the Romanist taking a course so fitting to the feeble and fearesfull humour of this sort, do greatly sway with them, whereas if they meet with one of the former, of more tough constitution, that wil not be carried away with those plausible declamations, nor yeeld his consent in grosse, without particular examinations, they bestow smal cost on him as having small hope to prevaile: wherein I holde them wise in the rules of pollicy; that having found by certaine and vnfaileable experience, that the ignorance of the *Laitie* was the cheefest and surest finewe of their greatnesse and glorie, they now beeing not able to keepe them longer in that blinde ignorance, doe cunningly endeavour so to leade them out of the briars, as to enter them withall into a second kinde of ignorance; that beeing not content to see vterly nothing, at leastwise they may bee perswaded to resigne vp their owne eye sight, and to looke through such spectacles as they temper for them.

13 This beeing the maine ground-worke of their pollicie

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licie, and these the generall meanes to build and establish it in the minde of all men, the particular waies they hold to ravish all mens affections, and to fit each humor, (their iurisdiction & power being but perswasive & voluntary) are wel nie infinit, there being not any thing, either sacred, or prophane, no vertue or vice almost, no things of how contrary conditions soever, which they make not, in some sort, to serve their turne; that each fancy may be satisfied, and each appetite finde what to feede on; whatsoever eyther wealth can sway with the lovers, or voluntary poverty with the despisers of the world; what honour with the ambitious, what obedience with the humble, what great employment with the stirring mettald spirits, what perpetuall quiet with heavy and restive bodies, what content the pleasant natures can take in pastimes and iollity; what cōtrariwise, the austere mindes in discipline & rigor; what love, either chastity can raise in the pure, or voluptuousnesse in the dissolute; what alurements are in knowledge to draw the contemplative, or in actions of state, to possesse the practique dispositions; what prerogative of reward can worke with the hopefull; what terrors, doubts, and dangers with the fearefull; what change of vowes with the rash, of estate with the inconstant; what pardons with the faulty or supplies with the defective; what miracles with the credulous, what visions with the fantastickall, what gorgeoufnesse of shewes with the vulgar & simple, what multitude of ceremonies with the superstitious, what prayer with the devoute, what workes of pietie with the charitable, what rules of higher perfection with the elevated affections, what dispēcing with the breach of all rules with men of lawlesse conditions: In summe, what thing soever can prevaile with any man, either for himself to pursue, or at leastwise to love, reverence, or honour in another, (for therein also mans nature receiveth great satisfaction) the same is found with them, not as in other places of the world by casualty, blinded, without order, &

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of necessitie; but sorted into great partes, into severall professions, countenanced with the reputation, honoured with prerogatives, & facilitated with provisions & yerely maintenance: and either as the better things advanced with expectation of rewards, or borne with, how bad soever, with silent tolleration, what pompe, what riot, to that of the Cardinalls, what severity of life comparable to the *Heremits and Capuchins*, who wealthier then their Prelates, who poorer by vow and profession, then their *Mendicants*; on the one side of the streete, a Cloister of Virgins, on the other a sty of Curtezans, with publique permission: to day all in maskes, with all loosenesse and foollery, to morrow all in processions, whipping themselves till the blood follow: vpon one doore, an excommunication, throwing downe to hell all transgressours, on another, a iubilie or full discharge from all transgressions. Who more learned in all kinde of sciences then their Iesuites; who more ignorant then their ordinary Masse priests; what Prince so able to preferre his servants and followers as the Pope and in so great multitude; who able to take deeper or readier revenge of his enemies; what pride equall to his making Kings kisse his pantables, what humility greater then his thriving himselfe daily on his knees, to an ordinary Priest, who more difficult in giving dispach to the greater, who easier in giving audiente to the meanest: where greater rigor in the world, in exacting the observation of the Church lawes; where lesse care and conscience of the commandements of God: To taste flesh on a Friday where suspition might fasten, were a matter for the Inquisition: whereas on the other side, the Sunday is one of their greatest market dayes. To conclude, never government, never state in the world so strongly compacted of infinite contrarieties, all tending to entertaine the severall humours of all men, and to worke what kind of effects soever they shall desire, where rigor and remissenesse, crueltie and lenitie are so combined, that with neglect of the

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the Church to stirre ought, is a sinne vnardonable, whereas with dutie towards the Church, by intercession for her allowance, with respectiue attendance for her pleasure, no Lawe almost of God or Nature, so sacred, which one way or other, they finde not meanes to dispense with, or at least wise, permit the breach of, by conniuenice and without disturbance.

But to proceed to their more particular proiectes, and more mystical deuises, for the perpetuating of their greatnesse; there was never yet state so well built in the world, having his ground, as theirs hath, in the good wil of other, and notwithstanding by his owne maine strength & power, that could longer vphold it selfe in flourishing reputation and prosperitie, then it could make it selfe necessarie to them by whom it subsisted. All callings of men, all degrees in common-wealthes, yea particular great personages, are then wayning in their greatnesse, when they decay in their necessarinesse to them from whom they have it, which the Papacy nothing ignorant of, hath by secrete cunning, so deeply engaged and interessed from time to time, the greatest Monarches in Christendome, in the vpholding of his estate, that without the Papacy, sundrie of them have no hope, and some no title to continue in their Dominion. For (to omit things more apparant and in the eyes of all men,) they have pretended authority to excommunicate and depose them, to discharge subiects of all othes and bonds of obedience, to oblige them vnder paine of damnation to rise against them, to honour their murderers with the title of Martyrs (for to that degree of extremity hath some of their sect growne.) The effect of which proceeding, some Princes have felt, and most have feared, and few at this day list to put it to adventure: the tēpering with so vnlimited power of Princes mariages, by dispensing with degrees, by the law of God and the world forbidden, by loosing and knitting marriage, by devise at

*Dispensing with
in degrees for-
bidden.*

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pleasure; by legitimating vnlawfull and accursed issue, and thereby advancing into Thrones of regallitie, oftentimes base, sundrie times adulterous, yea, sometimes incestuous, and perhaps, ynnaturall of springs dooth not Reason foretell, and hath not experience thought, that both the parties in such mariages, and much more their whole issue, are bound in as strong a bond to the vp-holding of the Popes infinite authoritie and power, as the honour of their birth, and the title of their Crowne are worth? It was a scely conceit in them which hoped that Queene Mary would not vphold the Popes authoritie in England, by reason of her promise when a greater bond to her, then her promise did presse her to it. What man ever in the world, stucke faster to his chosen friend, then the late King of Spayne Philip did to the Papacie? (notwithstanding with the Popes themselves, his often ielousies and quatrels) who ordained moreover, that all his heires and successours in the estate of the Low-countries, by vertue of his late transport, shall for ever vpon their entrie into those Seigniories, take an oth for the maintaining of the Papacie and that Religion. Is not the reason apparant, that if the Papacy should quaile, his only sonne whosoever descend of him, is dishonoured and made vncapable of those great Estates and Kingdomes which now he holdeth, yea and a fire kindled in his owne house about the title to them? neither is it to be admitted into any conceit of reason, but that this young King will be as sure to the Papacy, as his father, being borne of a marriage prohibited by God, abhorred happily by Nature, disaproved by the world, and onely by papall authority made allowable. For (for my part I hold not that opinion vnprobable) that the marriage of Vncle and Niece, (as it was in this case) was contrarie to the law of Nature, and not to Gods positive law onely, seeing the Vncle hath a second right and place of a father. But howsoever that point stand, wherein I dare

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not affirme ought, it is creerely contrary to such a positive lawe of God, as the reason and cause thereof must needes continue vnto the dissolution of the world, or overthrow of mankinde. And therefore, in reason and law, no way agreeable or dispensable with, but by the same or higher authority, then that which first did make it: that the Pope neede not thinke that they do him so apparant wrong, who invest him with the title of that man of power, *who sitting in the temple of God, exalteth himselfe above God.* For what may it seeme else, bearing himselfe head of the Church, to take vpon him to counsell, or authentically to allow of the breach of Gods law, without having his expresse & precise commission for so doing: Though I am not ignorāt, that they have distinctions for all this, which were a merry matter, if Sophistry were a proper sciēce of saluatiō, But by this & some other mariages, those strainge relations of aliance have growne: that *K. Philip* (were he a-live might call the Archd. *Albert*, both brother, cōsen, nephew & son; for all this were he vnto him, either by blood or affinitie, being vnkle to himselfe, cōsen ge rmain to his father, hūsbād to his sister, & father to his wife. & to come a step neerer home the same rule of Pollicy made me greatly feare (til now that god by death hath prevented the mischeife) howsoever hitherto, what for feare of scādalizing, what for other respects the Pope made shew, not to be forward to cōsēt to a intended marriage betwē a married K. & his Mistris, much lesse to legitimate the childre adulterously begotte, by finding nullities on both sides in the former mariages things made of purpose, as he knoweth, to cloke a fallshoode, that yet notwithstanding himselfe or his successours, would yeelde to it in the end, if any colour in the world could be laid vpp on the matter, to salve the credite of his not erring Sea: And hee might see good hope for that race to prevaile, deriving the succession also of his other greate Kingdome vppon issue, whose tyle must holde vppon his legitimation

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timation hee might be better assured of it, then he hath beene hitherto, and have them ever firme and irreconcilable adversaries, to all those, whither subiects or neighbours, or whosoever, as should oppose against his Sovereignty and vntinted power. So searching and penetrant is that Sea, to strengthen it selfe more by the vnlawfull marriages of other men, that ever Prince yet could doe, by any lawfull marriage of his owne,

*Dispensation
with oathes.*

15 The dispensing with oathes, and discharging from them, especially in matters of treatie betweene Princes and Estates, is a thing so repugnant to all morall honesty, so iniurious to the quiet and peace of the world, so odious in it selfe, so scandalous to all men, that it may be, they adventure not to play vpon that string in this curious age, so often as heretofore, for feare of discording all the rest of their harmony. Cleare it is, that heretofore this made them a necessarie helpe for all such Princes, as either vpon extremitie, were driven to enter into hard conditions, or vpon falshood and dishonesty, desired to take their advantage against their neighbours when it was offered: In which, Princes having no meanes to salve their credite with the world, but onely by iustifying the vnholinesse of the Art, by the Popes holy authoritie interposed in it, were afterwards tied firmly to adhere vnto them. And this was the cause that *Francis* the first of *France*, with whom (immediately vpon his oath, given to *Charles* the fift, for performance of the articles, accorded at his delivery) *Clement* the 7. dispenced, and by probable coniecture, had promised to dispencc with his oath, before he had made it vpon hope whereof also he tooke it: the effect was for the Popes behoofe, that ever after there was strict love and amity between them testified finally to the world by that famous marriage betweene the sonne of the one, and the kinswoman of the other. And verily, though I hold in generall too much suspitiousnesse, as great a fault, and as great an
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enimie to wisdom, as too much Incredulitie (it doing oftentimes as great a wrong to friends, as the other doth receive wrongfull hurt from dissemblers:) yet viewing the short continuance of sworn leagues at this day, the small reckoning that Princes make of oathes solemnly taken, whether to neighbours or subiectes; not faith but profit being the bond of alliance and amitie, which altering once, the other have no longer during: it maketh me think it not possible, that Popes unlimited fingers may bee stirring even at this day more often in secret, in vntying those knots of the bonds of conscience then the world is ware of: at leastwise, that by authority and imitation of his example, Princes assume vnto themselves a like faculty of dispensing with their own oaths, whensoever they can perswade themselves it is behooveful to their kingdome, as he when to his Church. But howsoever that standeth, this is verie apparant, that by this Doctrine and policy, the Popes opposites and enemies (especially the states and Princes of the reformed Religion) are inestimably preiudiced, being reduced hereby to a continuall vncertaintie and confusion in all their weightiest actions, counsels, and resolutions, there beeing a warrant for all men to breake league and oath with them, and no neede of particular dispensation from his holines. Their Church long since by her rules, and some of great reckoning amongst them, more lately by their writings have published & preached to al the world, that faith given to heretikes is not to be kept; that leagues with them are more honourable in their breaking, then in their making, denying that right vnto Princes of Christian profession, which Christians vnto Heathens, Heathens one to another, of how different religion soever; yea al honorable princes vnto very traitors & rebels, have alwaies kept unviolable. And finally, if father *Parsons* at his last coming to *Rome*, pretending to make peace betwixt the English scholars, & the Iesuits (who were charged with too much indirect dealing, & large imblessing) & setting downe a

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tainelndifferent Articles betweene them to that purpose, whereby each part should be bound to desist impugning of the other, did by handling the matter with such conveiance and cunning, (imitating therein a rule of fast on the one side, & loose on the other, in the ground of their order) as first to sweare the Scholers, to oblerve that which was their part, & after to leave the Iesuites vnsworne to theirs, to effect his secret & ambitious intent; & to the great grief of the Scholers, made the Iesuites their governours: what other account can be made of these leagues & peaces betwixt those of the Romane, & of the reformed religion, but that the one side being tyed by oath, & the other left free, (for so are they taught) they shall so far forth have performance & continuance, as shal be to the advancement and profit of that party which esteemeth it selfe at liberty, the sacred, the soveraigne instrumēt of all iustice amongst mē; what is it, what can it be in the world but an oath, beeing the strongest bound of cōscience? This is the end of strifes particular; this is the sodder of publike peace, & the sole assurance of amity betweene divers nations, which being made here below, is inrolled in his high Court, whose glorious name doth signe it, who hath made no graunt of acceſse to his celestiall pallace, but to such as have sworn true, though it redound to their owne damage, yet swarve not from it; that nothing but mischief can be presaged to the world, in this age most wretched, wherein Periury hath vndermined the tribunals of iudgement, which hath chased out true iustice out of the world, & left no place for a iust man where to stand against the craftie: But what may bee said when he that sitteth in the Temple of God, shall so far advance himselfe above God; as to dispence with oathes made sacred by the most holy & high name of God; when he that professeth himselfe sole vmpire & peace-maker of the world, shal cut in sunder those onely finewes that hold peace together; when the father of Princes shall carry himselfe with so wicked partiality, and cast (by dissolving of oaths)

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oaths) affliction on the partie he hateth, and making the other perpetually obnoxious to him to worke his owne certaine advantage from both? and lastly, by making of that ancient bridle of the vniust, to be now an onely snare to intrap the innocent, and impose that blemish vpon Christianitie, which the Pagans in their naturall morality have abhorred?

I will not here omit one other great helpe, which casualty rather then cunning may seeme to have wrought, it falling out often in the affairs of men, that where wisdome hath furnished out sundry aids & instruments, there some also do frame themselves (as it were by chance) resulting out of the concurrence of diuerse accidents with the former, as at this day the greatnesse of the house of *Austria*, extending it selfe well nigh to all quarters of *Europe*, and confining with many of the Popes principall adversaries, who having long since vpon the rich purchase which they had of the *Indies*, deuoured in assured hope and conceit, the Monarchy of our Westerne world, and finding no fitter meanes to enlarge their temporall Dominions, than by concurring with the Pope, in restoring his spirituall, have linked themselves most fast with his Sea, and investing themselves voluntarily with an Office of their owne direction, have taken vpon them to be the executioners of his Excommunications, that having title from the Pope who giveth his enemies the foyle by distracting their owne Subiects from them, vpon feare of his curse: the rest they may supply out of their owne force and opportunities: having erected for this purpose that superpolitique and irrefragable order (as they count it) of the Iesuites, who couple in their perswasions, as one God, and one Faith; so one Pope also, and one King, bearing the world in hand, and there is no other meanes in the world for the Church to stand, but by resting vpon this pillar, and by vniing in this sort all the forces of the Christians: this the onely meanes to vanquish the Arch-

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enemie of Christianitie, that the *Italians* may not brag to have beene the onely men, who have subdued the world vnto them by their wit, the *Spaniards* having prooved so good Schollers in their Schooles, that though they follow them in their grounds of pretending the advancement of Religion, and in their instruments of religious Orders, to practise mens minds with, yet in this they outgoe them, that they vie the Popes weapons, lightnings and thunders, and terrors for instruments of their owne greatness, & his hope of reestablishing his spirituall reputation by them, to the immoderate increase of their secular power by him, that the Pope also himselfe must in the end be constrained to cast himselfe into their armes, and to remaine at their devotion, acknowledging him henceforward for his good Lord & Patron, who he hath heretofore governed & commanded as his Son, a point which as some of the ministers of *Spain*, in the height of their pride have not beene able to hold in, but have braved the assembly of Cardinals to their beards, that they hope ere long to see the day that their master should tender halfe a dozen to the Pope to be made Cardinals at once, whereof he should not dare to refuse to choose any one. And the Cardinals themselves should as little dare to choose any other Pope then whom he named, so their too important pressing of the Pope in these latter times to serve all their ambitious and raging turnes, in the long prejudicing the libertie of the Conclave in their elections have given them good assurance, that they speak as they meane, that their brags are hopes & purposes, and these threatnings (being the naturall fruits of the Spanish haughtines & insolency, who in the pride of their Monarchie are growne now also to swear by the life of their king) have extremely perplexed some of the later Popes, and driven them to very extraordinary and desperate resolutions, which they have paid for dearly, & in general, have made it enacted for a rule in that sea, not so much to seeke the repairing of their forrein spiritual authority

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thoritie (if it cannot be done but by meanes of so huge inconvenience) as to strengthen and make themselves great in their temporall estate at home, yet seeing *Fraunce*, beyond all hope of Man re-vnited within it selfe, and likely to flourish as in his former prosperitie, whereby they shall be able to ballance these Monarchies, as to make that part the heavier, to which they shall propend (an auntient rule and continuall practise of that Sea) I should not greatly doubt, but that they will be content againe henceforward, so long as matters stand in the tearmes they doe, to entertaine that good correspondencie with the house of *Austria*, as to serve them with their Excommunications, that they may be served by them with their Executions. The sweetness whereof, as the Spaniard hath long since tasted, in effect (having seized on a Manor, by that onely pretence, and of late times in high conceit and hope, trusting to have embraced both *Fraunce & England* by the same meanes) so I doubt not but that other branches of the house of *Austria* in *Germany*, which hath ingrossed, and in a manner intailed to their house, so many elective states, the Empires, the kingdome of *Böhemia* with his dependances, and of *Hungarie*, and were likely also of late to have added the Principedome of *Transilvania*, whensoever they should attaine quiet and securitie from the Turke, which hath no great vnlikelihood to be compassed in short time, would take the same course against the Protestants of *Germany*, having so many Prelates and others there to assist them, (who by rooting the Protestants out of all their estates have prepared a good ground for such a future exploit) howsoever the Pope himselfe doth yet forbear his thunders, having learned by his losse else-where, that it argueth in these actions, more courage than wite, to make noise before the blowe be ready. Nowe, as these are the hopes of the house of *Austria*, for the enlarging of their estates, and molesting of their neighbors, so for the entertaining of perpetuall vnitie and love amongst themselves

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they vse the grand preservative and helpe of marriage, the onely sure bond of amitie in the worlde . In somuch, that by continuall inter-marrying amongst themselves, they remaine still as brethren all of one Familie, and as armes of the selfe same bodie : These take I to be the meanes whereby the Papacie hath assured so many of the greatest vnto it.

17 To descend from which, to those that are next to them in degree, as the nobilitie, and other persons of worth and qualitie : the Papacie is not vnprovided of his Instruments to worke vpon these also. shee hath her baits to allure them, her hookes to retaine them . I will not stand much vpon the benefite their confession dooth heerein yeelde them, whereby prying into the hearts and consciences of all men, they attaine knowledge of the secretes, they sound the dispositions, they discover the humors of all the most respectiue and able persons, of what countrey, or calling place, or qualitie soever : A matter of singular consideration in the managing of affaires, of principall importance for the well guiding of Councelles: The ignorance whereof hath beene the cause of errour in the wisest deliberations, and of vncertaine successe in the most grounded resolutions: to omit the great wealth which they heape thereby, perswading their Penitents, especially in that onely houre of agony and extremitie, to raise some their sins committed against God, by consecrating their goods vnto the Church of God, whereby they have prevailed in all places (so farre the Iesuites above all other, who are noted and envied by other orders of friars, for ingrossing the commoditie of being rich mens Confessours, when good is to be done, with whome their pranks in that kind have beene so rare and memorable, that most states at this day have beene forced, by publique order, to limite the proportion of that kinde of purchase) for in that case they can easily extenuate those other helpes of Indulgence, and of *Requiem*s, and their priuiledged Altars. And yet without touch

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touch of the Popes omnipotencie: They count them but simple folks, that cannot vse their severall devises, without crossing one of the other, how contrarie soever. They can tell them, that it may be for want of contrition in themselves those soveraigne pardons wanted a fitte Subiect to worke on; and so for other after-helps, the want of intention in the Priestt may frustrate the Masse of the prerogative of vertue, whereby their soules may perhaps frie in Purgatorie, when their friends shall imagine they shine in Glory, that the onely sure way of having good, is doing good. And what good to bee done at his death, but by bestowing well of his goods? And where better bestowing them than vpon him that gave them? And to G O D they are given, when they are given vnto his Ministers.

18 And heere I will no other than mention onely the helpe which the choice of their Cardinales doth yeelde herein, whom they choosung a great part of the most noble and potent families, that either voluntarily desire it, or otherwise can be induced to accept it, they both give good satisfaction to all forraine Nations, and especially holde *Italie* to them in speciall devotion, and strengthen themselves with the favor and support of those mens kinreds, whom they have placed in the next steppe to the top of their glories; yea, and oftentimes by meanes of these Cardinals (their assured instruments) they insinuate themselves into the swaying of the gouernment of those estates, wherein, either by their Nobility, or other woorth, they beare authority; A pollicie of long vsage and observed by many.

Cardinals.

19 But Jewels are rare, and for few mens wearing; the multitude and diversity of men of spirit requireth also store and varietie of competent living and preferments to entertaine them with good content and correspondencie; a thing in all estates of very necessarie and chiefe regard, wherein, although the Papacie seeme at the first bluish to have

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haue no furniture extraordinarie above other Princes, save only in one kinde, for men of Ecclesiasticall calling, by which he is able to advance men of learning incomparably above any other Prince in the world, as having welnie all the Archbishopricks and Bishopricks in *Italie*, with other Church-livings almost halfe the benefices in *Spaine*, very many Ecclesiasticall preferments of all sorts in other countries at his bestowing. And if wee looke into the vse and practise of these times, it will appeere, that even by Ecclesiasticall livings, he partly accommodateth, and partly suffers to be accommodated, all professions and ages, though neither fitte nor verie capable of Ecclesiasticall order, what by dispensations or tollerations to bee administrators to Abbeyes, Bishopricks, and other benefices as is vsed in *Fraunce*. What (as in *Italy* and *Spaine*) by assignation of yearly pensions out of their reuenues, which beeing so great as they are, they may easily, and having hope of aspiring they may willingly beare: and most of this out of the dominions and territories of other Princes, and without any charging or impoverishing of his owne: A choyce and refined peece of high Quintessence of wit, which yet never State coulde distill out of their braines to aspire vnto, besides the Papacie. To let passe the infinite number of Honours and Livings, what Ecclesiasticall, what subordinate, and ministeriall to them, and what also in part temporall as belonging to the Knights of the holy Orders, which are many. All which, although not directly in his owne donation, yet in that they have their right, either grounded, or greatly favoured and continued by his religion: And in decay of that (as experience hath shewed) were likelic to quail, are strong propes to the vpholding of the Papacie, arming so many tongues and hands in the defence therof, as either are, or have hope to be advanced by it, each drawing his friends and followers with him. A sweete enchanter and deceiver of men, is the hope of honour and worldly profite, which lulling
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oft even in the better sort) the conscience asleepe, doth awaken withall, and sharpen the wit, to find out arguments for the prooving of that cōclusion, which affection before hath framed, and by custome continueth, & ingendreth in them a perswasion that they have done well, in that which at the first, their own knowledge could say otherwise; how powerfully then may it sway with that other sort of men, whose belly being their god, make their appetite their sole Religion? which if the experience of former times hath not sufficiently affirmed, it were to bee wished perhaps, that more fresh prooffe might have beene given thereof once againe in this kingdome of *France*, where some of the wisest and chiefe have thought, that if the King hath accorded to the Cleargies late supplication, to bestowe Church-livings vpon fit men, and only of Ecclesiasticall calling, Those Princes & Peeres, which now in regard of that particular commoditie which they reape from the Church in termes as it standeth, would have vnsheathed their swords in defence thereof, would soone have turned themselves another way, to the utter razing of it, that they might satisfie their greedinesse with the spoile of that state, whose pay they could no longer have.

20 But for the Cleargie themselves, who are in al places vnder the Papacie, great in number and power, they are most firmly assured to that Sea, what by the multitude of exemptions and prerogatives above the temporalty, which vnder the Popes protection they securely inioy, what vvith expecting no other then utter sacking & ruine, if the opposites of the Popes should happen to prevaile, so discreet & violent have bin their carriage in most places, vvhere they have bin able, either to bring or to pull in their reformation: yea herein also it hath besalne, as in some other things, that not only casual, but evē more crosse accidents have redounded to the Popes great advantage & benefit. The part vvich in this age hath bin raised against, having wrought this affect, to make the rest more firme,

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more serviceable, & more zealous towards him, in so much whereas in *France* he was smally regarded of any, but stomaked at by the Princes, impeached, abridged, & appealed from, by the Prelates, and lastly, either despised or neglected by the people, the hatred and rancor conceived against his enemies with eagrenesse of oppositiō, kindling, and having long continuance therein, hath strongly settled and produced effects of cleane contrarie nature; the Princes have ioyned in holie league, for the vpholding of him, the people with all surie have raged, have fought against, have murdered and massacred his opposites in all places, and the cleargie of *France*; which heretofore withstoode him in many Councels, doth now eall maynly for his Councell of *Trent* to bee admitted. A Councell of all other most partiall vnto him, & carried by him with such infinit guile, and craft, without any sinceritie, vpright dealing, or truth, as that theſelves will even smile in the triumphes of their owne wittes, (when they heare it but mentioned) as at a master Stratageme. Yea, so strongly hath this opposition fastened his Cleargie vnto him, that the name of a Generall Council is now the most plausible, which in former time was the most fearefull thing to him in the world, and wherevnto hee was never brought with any better good will, then an olde bitten Beare is drawne to the stake to be bayted, by his enemies, who dare tugge him in company, at whom in single they scarce durst barke: so powerfull is the nature of all opposition to increase despite and hatred against the enemy, and to make friends, especially those that are interessed in the same cause, to cleave more close together. Yea rather, so wise is the ever admirable Creator, even in all his workes, of what nature soever, as to temper the very accidents in the life of man, with such proportion and counterpoise, that no prosperity without his inconvenience, no adversitie without his comfort, to chase out of mans life security and dispaire, the only enemies of all vertuous & honest courses. To each thing
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hath the goodnesse of that Architect imparted a peculiar badge of honour, that nothing should be dispicable in the eyes of other; the prince in maiesty & sovereignty of power, the nobility in wisdom & dominative vertue, together with the instruments thereof, as riches, reputation, allies, and followers, & the people in their multitude are respectable and honorable, which multitude being of so great consequence in matter of state, the policy of the papacy hath not neglected, but provided both reasonable intertainment for them, and fit means also to practise and work vpon them: here commeth in those heaps of their religious orders, and that multitude of Friars which abound in all places, but wherewith *Italy* above all doth swarme. A race of people in former times honorable in their holines, now for the most part contemptible in their wickednes and misery; alwaies praying, but seldome with signe of devotion; vowing obedience, but stil contentious, chastity, yet most luxurious; poverty, yet every where scraping and covetous: which I speak not of the all, there being many among them of singular piety & devotion in their way, but a very smal part as they generally reported where ever I have come. But to returne to the aid which the Papacy do reape from them, the onely contentfull care that the ordinary sort of men have in this world, is for the providing for their childrē, to leave them in good estate, & not inferior, but rather above their ancestors, which those that have many, not being able to performe, for all it is a great ease to them (and such an ease as even Princes & great Peeres themselves sometimes disdain not, but are rather glad of) to discharge their hands of some of them, especially of such as by disgrace, or by defect of nature, are eyther more backward, or lesse lovely then other, at an easie and small rate, and yet with honorable pretence, namely by consecrating them wholly to the service of the Creator, and providing higher place for them in his celestiall Kingdome. For such is their opinions of these orders of religious and Angelical

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perfection as they vsually stile them. The Friers also themselves, having names given them by their governors, each according to his merits, importing no lesse, and as they increase in their holinesse, so proceeding in their titles, from *Padre benedicto*, to *Padre Angelo*, then *Archangelo*, *Cherubino*; and lastly *Cerephino*, which is the top of perfection: but for their owne high conceit of their perfection and merits this example may serve. I have heard one of their most renowned *Capuchines* for zeale, sanctitie, and learning, preaching in a principall place before the Bishop, in sharpe reproofe of their forsaken crew of blasphemous gamesters, pray solemnly to God (though acknowledging himselfe first in humilitie a great sinner) by his merits, and discipline, by the teares which his eyes had often shed, by those many sharpe voyages, which for the love of God he had made, by that chastisement which he had often given himselfe, because they did grieve (*unum pauperis* which was himselfe) that if there were any, notwithstanding his admonitions, which should still persist in that wicked gamestry, he would strike them ere that day twelvemonth with some markeable punishment. The same man at an other time in an extacie of charitie, calling God, all his Angels, and Saints to witnesse it, to strip himselfe of all his merits, there before the little Crucifix, embracing, and kissing it, and to pray in reward them, vpon his dearly beloved Audite, for whose sakes hee was contented also to bee reputed the greatest sinner of all the assemblie: Such being their perfection then in desiring it, must needs issue of an honourable affection. Now although Italy being a thirstie Manager doth in his heart greatly repine at a custome which their Nunneries have of late brought vpon being indeed constrained to it by the excessive multitude, which in the former respect are thrust vpon them) which is, not receive any gentleman or marchants daughter, without the dowry of 200, crownes at least, and

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and fifteen or twentie crownes yeerly pension during her life, and ten yeerly rent to their house for ever. Neither admit they of any mans daughter without some crowns also in name of a dowrie at their spirituall mariage to God, and those shalbe but serving Nunnes to the former. Yet finding two charges, this is farre the easier, they are content to swallow downe that, which by champing on the bit, they cannot remedy. But the orders of religious men bring them an other ease also: It disburtheneth their country of an infinite number of discontented humors, and dispaireing passions, whosoever in his deereft loves hath proved unfortunate, whosoever cannot prosper in some other profession which he hath beene set to, whomsoever some notable disgrace or other crosse in estate hath bereaved of all hope of ever rising in this world, whosoever by his miscarriage hath purchased so many enemies, as that nothing but his blood can yeeld satisfaction to their malice. All these, and many others reduced to like anguish of minde, and distresse, or otherwise howsoever out of taste with the world, have this haven of content alwaies open to flie to, when they can find no other place of repose to stand in: then resolve they to go Friars (as they phrase it) yea whosoever by his monstrous blasphemy or other like villany hath deserved all the tortures and deaths in the world, if (before the hand of Justice lay hold vpon him) he voluntarily professe himselfe a *Capuchine* or *Hermite*, or of such like strict order, the Pope forbiddeth any further pursuit, as thinking his voluntary perpetuall penance sufficient. And in this manner is the greatest sort of their gentry *Capuchins*, for so are the most of the order by birth. Neither is this religious life (save in some very few Orders) so severed from the world and the commoditie thereof, but that it enjoyeth as many contentments as a moderate mind need with & moderate affections can find means also to satisfy themselves at pleasure: In summe, they are rather discharged of the toiles and cares, than debarred of the comforts and so-

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lace of this life. Neither is there almost so meane a Friar among them, that hath not some hope to be Prior of his covent, and then perhaps of that resort or province, and lastly, not impossible that his good fortune may so accompany his merits, as to attaine to be the Generall of all his Order. And the Generalls are as likely to be made Cardinals as any men. And finally, sundrie of them within the memorie of man, have beene advanced from the preheminences of the Cardinals dignitie, to the soveraigntie of papall glorie.

Hope is a sweet and firme companion of man, it is the last thing that leaveth him, and the highest things it promiset him, it maketh all toiles supportable, all difficulties conquerable. Now the multitude of these Orders, and good provision for them being so great an ease to all sorts of men in their private estates, as they generally account it. It must needs be a great bond of their affection vnto the Papacie, vnder which they enjoy it, as by whom alone those Orders are protected, and whom his adversaries do seeke vtterly to exterminate & ruine. I shall speake little of the particular persons that enter into those Orders who draw thereby their whole race the more to favour, that way (which in so infinite a number of them must needs be of great moment.) Against this might be objected with great reason, the inestimable damage which the publike do thereby receive, as in *Italy* for example, perhaps halfe of the land in many places therof, and generally a full third, besides their other vailes, being appropriated to this sort of people, and other persons ecclesiasticall, yea and of the people themselves, perhaps a quarter of a million at least in that one Countrey, having withdrawne themselves thereby from all service of Prince, or people, or Countrey, and confined themselves to their Cloysters life, living onely vpon the honic, which the toyling Bee doth gather, with perhappes an other quarter of a million of an other sect (I may erre in both numbers, but

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but I ayme as neere the trueth as by coniecture I can, proportioning the places where I have not bene with those where I have bene) who have abandoned themselves to another trade as idle, but more wicked, devouring with mens goodes, their bodies and soules at once, which may be the cause that that countrey (though as populous as it can well beare, yet cometh manifold waies short of that strength which in former times it hath had, either for defence of it selfe, or offence of his neighbors; yet notwithstanding these are Theoremes which few list to speculate. The whole worlde running mainely to things sensible and present, and to that which profiteth them in their owne particular, though it bringeth with it a certaine hurt and finall ruine of the publique, without the safetie, where of to them that iudge things rightly, neither any particular estate can prosper, nor the most prosperous estate continue long.

22. But the benefite which the Papacie doth draw from these Friars consisteth in this point, accommodating and yeelding content. It stands in the multitude of harts, of tongues, and pennes (dispersed in all countries, but vnited in his service) of men of most furie, and furious zeale, who with incessant industry and resoluteenes incredible, give over no travell, leave no exploit so difficult or desperate vnattempted for the vphoulding of the Papacie, and advancing of that religion. On which all their comfort and credite in this life, all their hope of prerogative in the life to come dependeth, being of the other side esteemed for the most lowlie companions, the most vnprofitable droanes, the most devouring locusts, the most reprobate, ignoble, ignominious, and wicked race, that ever the world was pestred with; in summe, more vile than the very mire they tread on. There was never yet state so wel plotted in this world, or furnisht with such store of instrumētts to imploy in his service, as to be able to practise & perswade with the multitude (otherwise than in their publike assemblies,

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blies, or other meetings) the Papacy onely excepted, who by reason of the insulceriess of these religious people, all made out of other folkes stuffe, and maintained at other folkes charge, is able, and dooth deale in publike and private, as occasion requireth with men, women, & children, of how meane estate soever, instructing, exhorting, confirming, adorning and kindling them in such sort, as maketh fittest for their drift: & for the end proposed, though there is difference in force of operation, betweene private perswasions, and those publike preachings; where the hearers, according to the vse of mans nature, neglect that in particular, which is commended to their regard in common, though easie to conceive; yet they onely can sufficiently perhaps esteeme who have seene a Friar, an abandon of the world, a man wholly rapt with divine affections and extasies, his apparel denouncing all earthly vanities, his countenance preaching severitie, penance, and discipline, breathing nothing but sighes for the hatred of sinne, his eyes lifted vpwards, as fixed on his loyes, his head bowed one the one side, with tendernes of love and humility, extending his ready hands to lay hold on mens soules, to snatch them out of the fiery iawes of that gaping blacke Dragon, and to place them in the path that conduceth to Paradise. When such a man, I say, shall addresse himselfe to a woman (whose sex hath bene famous ever for devotion and credulousnesse) or to any other vulgar person, of what sort soever, perswading and beseeching with all plausible motions of reason, yea with sighes of feare, and teares of love, instanting and importuning no other thing at their hands, then onely this, to be content to suffer God to save their soules, and to receive them vnto everlasting happinesse, which they shall certainly attaine by racking themselves with the heavenly armies of God, (that is) by ioyning themselves to the Church of Christ, and his Vicar, And this againe and againe, are sundry times teachend

and

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and pursued with shew of incredible care of their good, without seeking other meede or commoditie to himselfe, save only of being the instrument of a soules salvation. Is it to be marvelled, if such a man be received as an Angell of God, sent expressely for their salvations, to whom he commeth, though he prevaile and possesse them in such forcible sort, as that no acceffe remaine for any contrarie perswasion; that nothing so violent which they will not attempt, nothing so deere, which they will not bestowe for the advancement of that Church, by which themselves hope finally to bee so highly exalted? And although all Friars (being of so divers mettall) are not able to play their parts so naturally, and with such perfection as some that I have seene, yet beeing trained vp in the same schoole, they all hold one course: and certainly by their dealing with men at single hand in private by particular applyed perswasions, (which though they vse not continually, yet doe they not neglect it whensoever | opportunity doth require. They prevaile as (experience doth daily shew) exceedingly.

23 What now may I say of their readinesse to vnder- take, and resolute nesse to execute? what act how dangerous and desperate soever, that may tend to the advancement of their side and order. I need not seeke farre backe, nor farre off for examples. The late *Henry of France*, slaine traiterously by a *Iacobin*, & this King wounded by a Scholler of the Iesuites, the one for want of zeale only in their violent courses, the other as misdoubted of sinceritie in his conversion, may shew what measure their professed enemies were to attend, if they could have as open and ready access vnto them. Againe, this King went in danger of his life, a long while sought by a *Capuchin*, having undertaken it (as it was said) at the instigation of certaine Iesuites of *Lorraine*, to dispatch him, whose picture being brought to *Paris* by the Marquise *Du Pont*, search was made for him, and at length he was taken, and executed,

Bloody excursions
by Fryars &
Priests.

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together

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together with another *Iacobine* for the same crime. And vvhhat may it be thought these men vvould not do, being commanded by their Generals, vvhom they have vowed to obey? And in the Popes necessarie service, and vvith his expresse desire, vvho are carried vvith so desperate rage and surie against vvhatsoever impediments their bare conceits, vvithout vvarrant of higher authority present vnto them, and is in violent attempts to be executed by themselves: they are men resolved, and hardly, as having no posterity to be oppressed by their ruine, (which of all other things doth most containe men in duetie,) So in exciting the multitude of sedition or tumult in favor of their cause, and of their Catholike religion, they are as sedulous and secret, vsing opportunitie of confession to practise the vulgar, with annexing such conditions to the absolutions they give them, as the turne they intend to serve, requirerh. A point very memorable, in weighing the manifold fruites which at this day that Sacrament beareth for the Papacie, as hath beene discovered at *Paris* that certaine Confessours, having taken a solemne promise of their penitents, that they would live and die in the Catholike religion, yea and die for it also, if neede shall require, have enioyed them therevpon, to oppose by all meanes against the veresying of the Kings Edictes for the Protestants. Soone after ensued a generall rumour and terroure of new massacres, though vpon no ground that I can learne.

*The multitude
of friers*

24 But amongst many other points to bee regarded in these Friars, the very multitude it selfe seemeth to mee to be one, not of the least confederation, if the Papacy being reduced to any termes of extremitie, should resolve to put them in armes for their finall refuge and succour. The *Franciscans* alone in the time of *Sixtus Quintus*, their fellowe and Father, are said to have beene found by survey to bee thirtie thousand: the *Capuchins*, a late branch of them, doe vaunt to be eight thousand at this present. The *Dominicans* strive in competency with the *Franciscans*

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in all things. The *Iesuites* being great statists, are withall, exceeding rich, and many: but for the greedinesse of wealth, and rare practises to get it, infamous in all places. The *Garmelitanes* and *Augustines*, have their hives in every garden, and everywhere iwarne. The other orders of Friars and Monkes, being exceeding many, complaine not of paucity in their severall professions. In some other Countries they are sown, but *Italy* is thicke strowed with this kind of people, whose number perhaps in the whole, may passe a million of men, of the which, one halfe at the least, eyther are, or would grow to be of lusty able bodies not vnfit to be soone imployed in any warlike service: if the Pope having played away the rest of his pollicies, were brought to his last hand, to set vp his rest vpon those men, what should hinder him from raising huge armies of them in all places? their course of life, perhaps their vovyes and profession, whereof himselfe hath the key to locke and open at pleasure may breed vnwillingnesse of minde, or backwardnesse of such actions, which cannot be imagined to them that know their eagernesse of spirit, and consider withall, their standing with his estate, and falling with his ruine. Then for their vnaptnesse and vndisposition of bodie, their fasting, watching, lying on the ground, enduring cold, exact keeping of orders and obedience to their commanders, ought to make them fit to all military discipline. Then for the difficultie of assembling them in such case together. Heere needs must I speake of the exactnesse of their order and government, being such as needeth not yeelde to any. I know to that purpose, each order hath his *Generall* residing at *Rome*, for the most part, to aduise with the Pope, and to receive his direction from him, which being men of great reputation & power, are chosen though in shew indifferently by all the Maisters, that is, Doctors of their order whatsoever: yet in election it is so finely and cunningly contrived, that the voices of *Italy* are farre predominant, even as in the e-

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ection of the Pope, the *Italian* Cardinals; so in their moderne generall counsels, the *Italian* Bishops doe farre exceed all the rest of *Christendome*; that so the safetie of the papall sea, & the greatnesse of *Rome*, may rest assured.

These *Generalls* have vnder them their Provincials as Lieutenants in every province or state in *Christendome*. The Provincials have vnder them the severall Priors of convents. And those their companies. A commandement dispatcht away from the *Generall*, passeth roundly by the Provincials to the Priors with all speed, being received by the inferiours, they addresse themselves to the performance; yea though it commaund them a voyage to *China* or *Pern*, without dispute or delay they readily set forward. To argue or debate on their superiors Mandates, were presumption; proud curiosity to search their reasons; to detract or disobey them, breach of vow, equall to sacriledge; So that as in a well disciplined army, the *Generall* guiding, the Souldiers follow; he commaunding, they obey, without further delay or question: So those have no other care than to performe with dexterity, what Mandate soever their *General* in the plenitude of his authoritie shall addresse to them. This order, this diligence, this secrecie, this obedience, in a people that may wander without suspicion in all places, and find good reliefe & aid in their passage, wil answer the former obiection. To add the good grace wherein they are generally with the vulgar, the meanes which they have to provide all things necessarie with their repositories of Reliques and silver Images, what with Church-plate and treasure, wherein some of them are exceedingly rich, and daily increase, vnlesse the world should with generall consent bend against them, it may be (if the times should inforce such employment) they should be able (being associated with such friends as they should find) to make a very strong part in all places for the Pope, especially considering that these forces should be then raised out of their enemies countries, and

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so weaken them, as blood drawne out of their owne bodies. And that no man may deceive himselfe with that error : That in these professors of peace, there is no humor of warre, that minds wholly possessed with sweet contemplations, can imbrace no thought of bloody resolutions : let him but a little dive into the late French troubles, he shall finde that the militarie companions of the leaguers, were oftentimes even stuffed with Priests and Friars, tall men and resolute, he shall find that of these people, there have served (what in field, what in garrison) at one time, sufficient to have made a great army of themselves onely. He shall find, that at *Orleanse*, a *Capuchin* being expressly sent to that purpose by his Prior, went vp and downe the streets with a wooden crosse, crying, come forth good Christian, destroy the enemies of the Crosse of thy Saviour : and therewithall put to the sword at sundrie times, fixe score of the reformed religion, vntill he left none remaining. Lastly, he may vnderstand, that more lately in *Paris*, some of them in their sermons have incited (not obscurely) to a new massacre, complaining that the bodie of the Realme is forely diseased, being surcharged with corrupt humors, as not having beene let blood this five and twentie yeares, as it ought. To conclude, I conceive this force of Friars, to be so great, (what in regard of their very multitude, what by reason of their deadly rage against their opposites) that it would be hard for any state to bring in the reformed religion, without discharging it first of this difficultie and burthen. In *Germany* the first reformers of religion in this age, were friars themselves, who being men of great marke and reckoning amongst their owne, drew their Covents and other troops of their Order with them, and thereby set the rest in such amazements, that the Pope grew into a generall great ieaousie of them all, doubting their vniveriall revolt from his obedience. In *England* they were with great policy and practise dissolved, before any innovation in religion was men-

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tioned, whereas to have done both together, had been perhaps impossible. But first cleare preventing them of presence of religion, & after finding their religion cleare stripped of that Patronage, they were more quietly minded, and this more quietly reformed. In *France* this king vpon that outrage against his person, smoked the *Jesuits* out of his nest, in most parts of his kingdom. If he had done the like to the *Dominicāns*, (a most potent & flourishing order in *Spain* above all other) in revenge of the murder of *Henry* the 3. his predecessour, or if he would or could do it now to them, and to the *Capuchins*, (who at this day next to the *Jesuits*, are of greatest renowne) in punishment of their late practise, so fortunately discovered, & so chastice the schools alwaies, whē he took their schollers in so enormous faults, there were great hope for the reformed religion in time to prevail, which is now prejudiced & persecuted by these Friars, that hardly can it keepe foot on the ground it hath. Thus much of the strength which these religious orders do yeeld the Papacie.

*Invention of
spirituall fraternities.*

25 To this may be added the like invention of spirituall fraternities & companies, perhaps equaling, yea exceeding in nūber the very orders of Friars: in which, vnder the protection, & in honor of some saint, or of any other holy man or religious Minister, & oftentimes annexing themselves to some of the orders of friars, the lay people of al sorts, both men & women, both single and married, do inrole themselves into one or more of these societies, approaching so much neerer to the state of the cleargy, vnto which sundry of the are no other then annexaries & appurtenāces, whereby, as they tie themselves to the orders of them, consisting in certain extraordinary deuotions & professiōs, bearing also certain times some badge of their company: so are they made partakers of al such spiritual prerogatives, either by partnership with other Churches merits, or intrest in sundry Indulgences, some halfe plenary, some whole, some for the time past, some before hand for sundry years to come, & chiefly

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ly for the avoiding or speedy dispatch out of purgatory, as the Pope or his predecessors, for the incouragement & comfort of the Christian people in their devotion & charity, have thought good to grant vnto them. These fraternities are not yet growne into any great request in other places, howbeit in *Italie* they have so multiplied, that few (especially of that vulgar and middle sort of men, who affect any reputation of devotion) but have entred into some one of them, and sundry into many; the assurace of whom vnto Papacie, must needs be doubled, since love groweth according to the proportion of hope.

pollicies of the papacie against the opposites

26 Now come I to the last ranke of the Roman pollicies, aranged against their professed & feared enemies, whereby they do seeke to re-enter where they have beene disrooted and practise as well for the wasting away of their opposits where they are, as for shutting them & their doctrine out, where yet they have not beene. I will not heere exemplifie vpon things manifest and ordinary, being high waies, so plaine that a guide were needlesse; their persecutions, confiscations, tortures, burnings, secret murthers, generall massacres, exciting of inward seditions & outward hostility against their adversaries, their oppressing & debasing of the where themselves are the stronger, are things whereof they were none of the inventors, though perhaps the commendation of the exact refining of them, of straining the to their highest note, of sedulitie & perseverance, putting the in execution, may be more due & proper to them then to any other; neither yet will I meddle greatly with their Art of slandering their opposites, or disgracing their persons, misreporting their actions, falsifying their doctrine & positions, (things wherewith their pulpits do daily sound & their writings swell againe.) But they are not the first, neither, that have run this blacke course, no more then the former red: others have done it before them, ye the buying of mens consciences, by proposing reward to such as shall relinquish the protestant religion & turne to theirs, as in *Ausbarie* where

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where they say there is a knowne price for it, of ten flo-
rence a yeare. In *France*, where the Clergie have made cō-
tributions for the maintenance of runnagate Ministers, is a
devise also fresh & of easie conceit. I will rather insist vpon
their inventions lesse trivial, and more worthy to be
regarded. A wonderfull thing it is to consider the great
diversitie of humours or tempers of minde, which this age
hath produced in this one point wee speake of, touching
the meanes of growing onward vpon the adversarie part.
A sort of men there liveth in the world at this day, whose
leaders (whether vpon extremitie of hatred toward the
Church of *Rome*, or vpon selfe-liking and singulartie
to value their owne wittes and devises) did cut out in such
sort, their reformation of religion, as not onely in all out-
ward religious services & ceremonies, in governement, &
Church discipline, they doe strive to be as vnlike the
Papacie as is possible: but even in very lawfull polli-
cies, for the advancing of their part, doe disdain to
seeme to bee imitators to them, whom they so much
abhorred, much like stowt harted, selfe-witted Captaine,
whio scornes to imitate any stratageme before vied by
the enemye, though the putting of it in exploit,
might give him assured victorie: Neither doe these mens
schollers, as yet one whit degenerate, yea perhaps that dis-
ease (if I may so censure it) hath tainted, in some degree, all
the protestant party, who never could finde the meanes in
all this age, to assemble a generall Counsell of all their
side for the composing of their differences, and setting or-
der in their proceedings, for want I must confesse of
some oportunities, but of a great deale of zeale also in their
governors, (as to mee it seemeth:) neither yet have they in
any one of all their Dominions, erected any colledge of
more contemplative persons, to confront and oppose a-
gainst the Iesuites, but have left this weighty burthen of
clering the controversies, of perfecting the sciences, of an-
swering the adversaries writings, (of exceeding huge tra-
vel)

Puritaines

Protestants

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vell) either vpon their ordinary Ministers to be performed at times of leisure from their office of preaching, (& then is it done accordingly) or vpon such as in Vniuersities, ha-ving some larger scope, shall willingly and of their owne accord vndertake it for sometimes: whereas on the con- trarie side, the Papacie seemeth to me, very diligently and attentively to have considered and weyed, by what means chiefly their aduerse part hath growne so fast, beyond ei- ther their owne expectation, or the feare of their enemies, as in lesse then an age to have won perhaps the moiety of their Empire from them. And those very means, theſelves have resolved hence-forwards to appy, in strong practise on their side also, that so, as by a countermine, they may either blow vp the mindes of their aduersaries, or at least- wise give them a stop from any further proceeding, like a politike Generall, who holdeth the greatest wisdom to out-goe his enemies in their owne devices, & the greatest valour to beate him at his owne weapons. I will not here presume to presse in with my determination vpon this great difference and question, although it seeme to mee, to be no other then a plaine quarrell, betweene stomacke, and discretion: A small deale of wisdom, me thinke, might decide it, especially considering that all good things are fro God, though they be found in his very enemy: & what- soever is not vniust (being vsed in a good cause) is good.

27 The first and chiefe meanes, wherby the reformers of Religion prevaile in all places, was their singular assidu- itie & dexteritie in preaching, especially in great cities, & Palaces of Princes, whereby the people (beeing ravished with the love & admiration of that light which so brightly shined vnto the, as me with the Sun, who are newly drawn fro dungeon) readily followed those who caried so faire a lamp before them. Hereto may be added their publishing of treatises of vertue, of piety, of spirituall exercises & de- votions, which ingendred a firme perswasion in the minds of men; that the soile must be sound, & good, from whence

Preaching.

*Publishing trea-
tises of piety.*

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so sweet, wholesome, and heavenly fruites proceed. Now although the opinions of the Papacy, and of a great part of the reformed religion be as opposite herein, wel-nie as hot and cold, as light and darknes; the one approving no devotion severed from vnderstanding, the other thinking the vnderstanding to be a means, rather to divert & dazle the devotion, then to direct and cherish it. And for preaching in like sort, the *French* Protestants making it an essential & chiefe part of the service of God, whereas the Romanists make the *Masse* only a worke of duty, & the going to Sermons but a matter of conveniency, & such as is left free to mens leasures & opportunities, without imputation of sin: yet in regard of the great sway (which they have learned by their losse) that those cary, in drawing of mens minds & affections, they have indeoured in all places in both those kinds, to equal, yea & to surmount their adversaries. For although in multitud of preachers they greatly come short, (being an exercise wherein the secular priests list not to distemper their braines much, but commend it in a maner wholly to their regulars & friars) & these (thinking the cuntry capacities to blockish, or otherwise not worth bestowing so great cost on) do imploy themselves wholly in cities & other places of great resort, all which they have great care to have cōpetently furnished: yet in the choyce of them whom they send out to preach, in the diligence & paines which they take in their Sermons, in the ornaments of eloquence & grace of action, in their shew of piety & reverence towards God, of zeal towards the truth, of love towards his people, which even with their tears they can often testifie, they match their adversaries in the best, & in the rest far exceed them. But herein the *Jesuits* cary the bel frō all other, having attained the cōmendations, & working the effect of perfect orators: And of those besids, certain drawn yearly by lot frō their general residing at *Rome*: their choise preachers are sent abroad amongst Infidels & heretiks; at Lent in especial they are sent out, one in each city in *Italy* with

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with yearly charge, and the custom of *Italie* is for the same mā to preach every day in the lent without intermission (if their strength do serve them) so as fixe daies in the weeke to preach on the Gospel of the dayes, and on the S^terday in honor & praise of our Lady: so in every yearely change there is the delight of variety, & in the daily continuing of the same, the admiration of industry. Some such like course it is to be thought, that the *Iesuites* hold also in other Coutries, their proiects being certaine and exactly pursued. But wonderfull is the reputation which redounds thereby to their order, & exceeding the advantage which it giveth to their side, for bookes of praier & pietie, all countries are full of them at this day, in their own language, to stopp in part, the out-cric of their adversaries against them, for imprisoning the people whollie in those darke devotions, & especially to win the love of the world vnto them, by this more inward and lively shew of sanctitie & godlines. Yea, herein they conceive to have so farre surpassed their opposites, that they forbear not to reproach vnto the their poverty, weaknes, & coldnes, in that kind, as being forced to take the catholikes books to supply theirs, which as in this it cannot altogether be denied to be true, so on the other side, it had bin greatly to be wished, that these bookes of Christian Resolution & exercise, had bin the fruits of conscience, rather then of the wits of those that made them, which in some of them, as father *Parfos*. by name, have bin otherwise, besides the rest of his actions vnfitable to those resolutions. Some of them also more zealous in their way have not forborne to cōfesse, that by performing so good works with a good mind, to a good end, & conforming their own lives & demeanors accordingly, they might have prepared mens minds to an hope of a through recōciliatō wheras now, by vsing holines it self for a meere instrumēt of practise, & to win men to their party, they cannot but drive the world into such a labyrinth of perplexities ielousies, as to suspect alwaies their policies & dispaire of their honesties.

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28 A second thing whereby the Protestant part hath so greatly enlarged it selfe, hath bene their well educating of youth, specially in the principles of Christian Religion & pietie, wherein their care and continuance, is even at this day in many places very worthily to be comended of all, and imitated by them, who hitherto have bin more remisse in educatiō of youth, & sowing in those pure minds, seede of vertue and truth, before the weedes of the world do rācor and change the soile, being by the consent of the most renowned wise men of the world, a point of incōparable force and moment, for the well ordering and governing of all kind of states, and for the making of Common-weales ever happie and flourishing. for all education confor ming to the lawes and customes in being, doth vphold states in the termes wherein they are. The first seasoning with opinions & accustomāces whatsoever, being of double force to any second perswasions and vsages: not comprising herein those nimble & quick-silvered braines which itch after change, liking in their opinions, as in their garments, to be noted to be followers of outlandish fashions, as being of a more refined & sublimated temper, then that their Country conceits can satisfie. Herein then the Papacie were taken short by the protestants (even as in the former) and mightily overonne ere they were aware thereof: notwithstanding, as difficulties doe rather kindle then daunt the generous spirits, & adde that to their diligence, which was wāting in their timelines, so these men have bestirred themselves so well therein, to follow the trace which their adversaries had led them, that in fine they have in some sort out-gone them in it, & quoted them in all, one onely excepted, that they respect not much instruction of their childre of the meaner sort as being likely to swaylitle, whereas the Protestants seeme in religious instruction indifferent to both. But for the rest, what is it they haue omitted, what Colledges for their owne, what Seminaries for

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for strangers, to support and perpetuate their factions & practises in their enemies dominions have they not instituted almost in all parts in Christendome, and maintaine still at their owne and their favorites charge? Is it a small brag that some of their side do make, that their English Seminaries abroad send forth more Priests, than our two Vniuersities at home do Ministers? Behold all the Iesuites the great Clerks, Politicians, and Orators of the world, who vaunt that the Church is the soule of the world, the Cleargie of the Church, & they of the Cleargie, doe stoope also to this burthen, and require it to be charged wholly vpon their shoulders, in all places wheresoeuer they can plant their neasts, their open free schooles for all studies of humanity. To these flocke the best wits, and principall mens sonnes in so great abundace, that wheresoeuer they settle, other Colledges become desolate, or frequented onely by the baser sort, or those of the heavier mettall. And in truth such is their diligence and dexteritie in instructing, that euen the Protestantes themselves (in some places) send their sonnes to their Schooles, vpon desire to haue them prooue excellent in those Artes they teach, besides, being in truth but a baite and allurement whereto to fasten their finall and principall hooke, they plant in their Schollers with great exactnesse and skill the roots of their Religion, nourish them with an extreame hatred and detestation of the aduerser partie. And to make them for euer intractable to any contrary perswasion, they worke into them by great cunning an obstinacy of mind, and sturdie eagrenesse of spirit, to affect victorie with all violence of wit in all controversies, than which no greater enemy to the finding out of truth which (being pure and single in his owne nature) appeareth not but to a cleare and sincere vnderstanding whom neyther the fumes of fierie passion do mist, nor sinister respectes or prejudices sway downe on eyther side, from the pitch of iust integritie, neither thinke I any vassiter sort of men in

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the world to be imployed in the contemplation and search of truth, than these hote men and headie, who being so-daine in their actions, seize lightly on that which com-meth first to hand, and being stiffe in their resolution, are transported with every preiudicate conceit, from one error to another, having neither the patience they should, to weigh all points diligently, nor the humiilty to yeeld vp their owne fancies to reason; neither yet that high honorable wisdom as to know, that truth being the marke they professe to strive at, in the overthrow of their errors, they attaine the summe of their desires, and remaine conquerors, by being conquered: yea sundrie times have I seene two eagre disputers loose the truth, and let it fall to the ground betweene them, which a calme minded hearer hath taken vp and possessed.

But these Iesuites (presuming perhaps of the truth before hand, & labouring no other thing than the advancing of the partie) indeavour (as I said) by all meanes, to imbrede that fiercenesse and obstinacie in their Schollers, as to make them hote pro/ecuters of their owne opinions impatient and intractable of any contrarie considerations, as having their eyes fixt vpon nothing, but onely victorie in arguing, for which cause (to strengthen in them those passions by exercise) I have seene them in their bare Gram-maticall Disputations, enflame their Schollers with such earnestnesse and fiercenesse. as to seeme to be at the point of flying each into others face, to the amazement of those strangers which had never seene the like before, but to their owne great content and glory as appeared. Over and above all this, they have instituted in their schooles a speciall fraternitie, a congregation of our Ladie, with certaine select exercises and deuotions, into which (it being a reputation to be admitted) it must cause (in congrui-tie) the forwardest of their schollers, to fashion themselves by all means as to content their humors, and so to be received (in shew) into a degree of more honorable estima-tion

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tion (but in truth) into no other than a double bond of assurance.

I shall not need to insert here their singular diligence, and cunning, in inticing (not seldome) the most noble of their Schollers, oftentimes the most adorned with the graces of nature and industry (especially if they have any likelihood of wealthy succession), to abandon their friends and to professe their Order (a thing daily practised in all places by them) yea wheresoever they espie any one of rare spirite, they will be tempering with him, though hee be the onely son and solace of his father, whereby (though they drawe on them much clamor and stomacke, yet doe they greatly therby enhaunce the renowne of their Society, by furnishing it with so many persons of excellent quality or nobilitie, whom afterwards they imploy with great iudgement, as they finde them fittest. Neither yet do they heere make an end with this parte, but this Order hath also their solemne chatechising in their Churches on Son-daies and Holidiaies, for all youth that will come, or can be drawne vnto it, that in no point the diligence of their adversaries may ypbraide them: But this point of their Scholes in instructing youth, is thought of such moment by men of wisdom and iudgement (beeing taught so by very experience and triall thereof) that the planting of a good Colledge of Iesuites in any place, is esteemed the onely sure way to replant that religion, and in time to cate out the contrary. This course hold they in all *Germanie*, in *Savoy*, and in other places, and the excluding it from *France* is infinitely disliked; and that which makes them vncertain what will become of that kingdome.

29 A third course that much advantageth the Protestants proceeding, was their offers of disputations with their adversaries in all places, their iterated and importunate suites for publike audience and iudgement, a thing which greatly assured the multitude of their soundnesse whom they saw so confident in abiding the hazard of trial being

Offers of disputation.

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being that, wherof the want is the only preiudice of truth, and the plenty, the only discovery & ruine of falshood: they standing in like termes, as a substantiall iust man, and a facing shifter, wherof the ones credite is greatest there, where he is best knowne, and the other where he is least, And by reason the Romanists were not so cunning then in the questions, nor so ready in their evasions & distinctions, as they are now growne, the effect of these disputations (whether received or refused) was in most places such as to draw with them an immediate alteration of religion. Hereto may be added those admirable paines, which those first reformers vnderooke and performed, in translating the Scriptures forth with into all languages, in illustrating all parts thereof with ample Commentss, in addressing Institutions of Christian religion, in deducing large histories of the Church, from the foundation to their present times; in furnishing all common places of divinity with abundance of matter; in exact discussing of all controverted questions: and lastly, in speedy reply to all contrarie writings, the greatest part of these labours tending to the iustifying of their owne doctrine, & to the discoverie of the corruption and rottennes of the other, that they might overbeare these with the streames of the evidence of Reason, by the strength of whose power they complained, to bee overborne. There is scarce any one of these kindes of writings, (save the translating of the Bible into vulgar language) wherein the Romanists have not already, or are not like very shortly, either to equall, or to exceede their adversaries in multitude of workes, as being more of them that apply those studies in diligence, as having much more opportunity and leasure in exactnesse, as comming after them and reaping the fruits of their travels, though in truth they come short, and in ingeniositie, being Truths companion: But as for the controversies themselves, the maine matter of all other therein, their industry is at this day incomparable, having so altered the tenures of them, refined the
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states, subtilized the distinctions, sharpened their owne proofes, deuised certaine, either answers or euasions already resolved on, for all their aduersaries arguments, allegations, and replies; yea they have differences to diuert their strongest oppositions, interpretations to elude the plainest text in the worlde; circumstances and considerations, to inforce their owne seeliest coniectures; yea reasons to put life into their deadeest absurdities: as in particular a verie faire case in schoole-learning they have, to iustifie their Popes grants of many score thousand yeeres pardon, that in assiance of this furniture, & of their promptnesse of speech and wit (which by continuall exercise they aspire to perfect) they dare enter into combate even with the best of their oppugners, and will not doubt, eyther to intangle them so in the snares of their own quirks, or at leastwise so put off his blowes, with the wardes of their distinctions, that an ordinarie Auditor shall never perceiue them to be vanquished, and a favourable Auditorie shall report them vanquishers. Wherevpon now to bee quitte with their aduersaries, and by the very same Arte to drawe away the multitude, they cry mainly in all places for tryall by disputations. This *Campion* did many yeeres since with vs. This, as I passed through *Turricke* did the Cardinall *Andrea* of *Constance*, and his Iesuites with their Ministers, being by auntient right within his Dioces: not long before, the same was done to them of *Geneua*. And verie lately the *Capuchins* renued the chaenge, in which partes I observe this discrete valour on both sides: that as the Romanists offer to dispute in the aduersaries owne Cities, which they know their Magistrates will neuer accord; so the Ministers in supplie thereof, offer to goe to them to their Cities, and that is now as much disliked on the other side, each part being contented that the fire should bee kindled rather in his enemies house then in his owne: yea there are not wanting some temperers amongst them, that have beene talking a long

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while (whether out of their owne dreames, or out of the desires of greater persons, which I halfe coniecture) of a generall solemne conference to be sought and procured, of the choyce and chiefe every way of both the sides, vnder pretence of drawing matters to some tollerable composition: But in truth (as I conceived) rather to over-bear and disgrace the contrarie cause, with their varietie of engins, and strength of wit to weild them at all assaies at pleasure, than vpon sinceritie of affection, or probabilitie of any vnitie or peace to ensue; so great is their hope of having cure by the weapons, from whence heretofore they have had their wounds.

*A discovering
the blot of their
opposites.*

30 A fourth way that mightily afflicteth the Papacy, & consequently aduanceth the reformation & her proceedings, was a course, in my opinion, surely more excusable, where it cannot; that commendable where it can bee spared: and that is the discoverie of the private blotches of an enimie further then the question in hand doth constraîne, howsoeuer the Protestants (at leastwise some of them) by example of those ancient and reverent Orators ripped vp to the quicke, the lives of their adversaries in their particular actions, especially of their Popes, and of their Prelates, as also of their Votaries of all sorts, and sexes, wherein the store of matter was huge, the qualitie of it so enormous, loathsome, vgly, and matchable in all kind of villanie, to the veriest monstres of the Heathen, the persons defiled with it, of so imminent place in the steering and vpholding of their Church; and lastly the trueth thereof, so vndoubted and certaine, being drawne in times past out of their owne stories and Authors printed and approved amongst themselves to be true, for that present, being of things done ordinarily for the most part, and openly in the sight of all men in *Rome*, and in *Italie*, (even as they continue perhappes not much better in many things at this day,) that publishing and presenting it to the prepared mindes of the worlde, besides an
extreame

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extreame horreur and detestation which it brought, did work in them this perswasion also, that it could not be but Heil gates had prevailed against that Sea, whose Governours, whose Prelates, whose Priestes, whose Virgines, had lived most of them so long time in the iawes of the Prince of Hell: Neyther that it was probable they had beene carefull in preserving the doctrine of Christianitie, who had beene carelesse of all partes of Christian life and honestie. And as in their lives, so in their writings also, of doctrine and devotion, and in the actions concerning them; their deifying of the Pope with most impious flatterie; their abusing of the Scriptures, with all irreverence and prophanenesse; their iugling with their Images, to make them sweate, weepe, and bleede, to raise in the people a devotion towards them of Heathenish Idolatrie, their forging of Miracles, in exorcismes, in cures, in apparition of soules for their lucre and advantage, their granting of Pardons for some prayers before Images, for many thousand yeares, their Pardon for sinnes to come, before they bee committed; their shamelesse ridiculous tales of our Saviour, and the holy and blessed Saintes, making marriages heere vpon earth, betweene him and some of our women Saintes, with infinite store of childish vanitie and foolish absurditie, (as to their adversaries) though themselves seemed (I must confesse) to conceive otherwise of them, some of their graver Doctors both preaching them in Pulpit, and publishing them newly in elaborate and ample Histories; their promising to the vse of certaine devotions to our Ladie, to have a sight of her sometime before their dying dayes, and much more, their falsifying and forgeries in all matters of antiquities, thrusting in, cutting out, suppressing trueth, suborning fained writings, as their turnes did require; all which, though being objected in this sort to themselves, they had eyther their allegations of good intent,

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to defend, or at leastwise the commiseration of humane infirmitie to excuse them, yet were they not so washed away from the mindes of the people, who could not conceive this house to have beene guided by the Spirit of God, wherein they saw so many foule spirits of pride, and hypocrisie, of lying and deceiving, to have borne so great office so long, and without controlement. These things being perceived by the favorites of the Papacy, to have made so deepe impression in the minds of all men, and to have greatly prejudiced them in their more plausible allegations, mens hearts being already taken vp and fraught with detesting them, they cast about for revenge and redresse in the same kinde, not as the plaine blunt Protestant; who finding all the matters made readie to his hands, bestowed no other cost, but the collecting and setting it in some order together; but like a supernaturall Artisan, who in the sublimitie of his refined witt, disdaines to bring onely meere Art to his worke, vnlesse hee make also in some sort the verie mater it selfe. So these men in blacking the lives and actions of the reformers, have partly devised matter of so notorious vntruth, that in the better sort of their owne Authors it happeneth to bee checked: partly suborned other Post men to write their Legends, that afterwards they might cite them as approoved Authours, and Histories, as is euident in the lives of *Calvine*, and *Beza*, written by their sworne enemy *Botsacke*, the twice banished and thrice runnagate Friar, and Phisition, for those names his often chaunges, and hard chaunces have given him. This man being requested by their side to write thus, is in all their writings alleaged as Canonically. But in this kind, surely no man thinks the conditions of those parties are too vnequall, for the Protestant whatsoeuer he hath cyther in impeaching his aduersarie, or clearing his owne actions, vnlesse hee can directly prooue out of the aduersaries owne writings, it is with them as nothing, and no better

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better than as are *testes domestici* in the law, whereas the Romanist whatsoever he slanderously surmise, unless the other partie be able, by direct prooffe to disprove it, (which being to iustifie in the negative, is alwaies verie difficult, and for the most part impossible) he triumphes as in a matter of truth; not to be gainsaid. And whosoever maketh this account, that in these kinde of blowes, even where the wound is cured, the scarre lightly continueth. At this present they give it out, that they have a booke in hand of the lives of the Ministers of *England*; wherein it were to be wished, that some, who by their dissolutenes and corruption, have given occasion of offence against the order it selfe, might by their exemplarie punishment withall expiate the reproach, though at these mens hands who in disgrace of our Prelates, have cited *Marpelate* in their late bookes for a great Author and witnes, & others of like and lesse indifferency & honestie: the innocent and culpable are to expect perhaps like measure. Then for the measure and doctrine of the Protestants, the bookes of some of our owne Countreimen, besides many other, are famous, who have taken a toile (how meritorious God knoweth) surely very laborious, out of infinite huge Volumes which that part hath written, to picke out whatsoever (especially severed from the rest) may seeme to be eyther absurdly, or falsely, or fondly, or scandalously, or dishonestly, or passionately, or fluttrishly, conceived or written: for even in that kinde, having the advantage of the homely phrase of our countrey, and namely in those times they haue not spared, and these with their crossnesse, and contradictions one of another set cunningly together, they present to the view of the world, & demand whether it be likely that these men should have bin chosen extraordinarily by God, to be the reformers of the church, & treasureurs of his truth, who besides their vitious lives, & hateful conditions; in their more sober thoughts, and very doctrine it selfe, were possessed with so fantastickall, so wild,

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so contrarie, so furious, so maledicent, and so slovenly spirits, wherein, as they do in some sort immitate their adversaries, so yet with this difference, that the one hath objected that which either (as being the approved doctrine of their church) was with such publike authority delivered to the people, or else, which was so vsuall amongst their Canonists and Cleargie, as might plead vncontrolled custome to shew it lawfull, whereas the other part finding very small store of that nature, have runne for supply to every particular mans writings, wherein so huge a multitude of authors and works as this age over-ranke therein, and mens fingers ever itching have produced, it had been surely a great miracle, if they had not found matter enough, either worthy to be blamed, or easie to be depraved in their enemies writings. One of the most renowned Sages and Fathers of the Antients having found so much to condemne and retract in his owne. And if the Protestants should list to requite them in that kinde, they might perhaps finde stuffe enough (I will not say to lade an Argosy) but to overlade any mans wit in the world to reply vnto. But verily these courses are base and beggarly even when singlenesse of minde and truth doth concurre with them: and farre vnworthy of an ingenious & noble spirit, which soareth vp to the highest and purest paths of verity, disdainig to stand raking in these puddles of obscuritie, vnworthy of that charitable and vertuous minde which striveth by doing good to all, to attaine to the high honour of being an immitator of God, who is sorie of those very faults, which are in his enemies, & discloses them no further than is necessary, eyther for defence of impugned truth, or for warning to the world to avoid the contagion of the disease, or seducements by the deceased. But if to this basenes of discoveries other iniustice be also added, if malice doe preferre them, if sleight increase them, if falshood and slaughter taint them, then doe they not onely abuse men from the dignitie of their nature, but even associate them
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with the foule enemy and calumniator therof, whose name is the flanderous accuser of his brethren. I suppose there was never man so patient in the world (that patterne of all perfection, our Savior Christ excepted) but if a man shuld heap together all the cholericke speeches, all the wayward actions that ever scaped from him in his life, and present them in one veiwe all continuare together (as is the fashion of some men) it would represent him for a furious and raving bedlem, whom displaying al his life in the same tenor it was led, the whole world might wel count of his staydnesse, & admire him for his moderation & magnanimitie. They that observe nothing in wisemen of vertue, but their fault, and imperfections (from which neither the wisest nor perfectest have beene free,) what doe they but propose them as matter of scorne, and abhorring whome God hath as it were marked out for patternes of honor to immitate? Yea this age hath brought out those curst and these accursed wittes, who by culling out the errors and shews of error, by formalizing the contrarieties, misinterpreting the ambiguities, intrangling the obscurities, which in the most renowned Authors for humane wisdom that were ever in the world, their envious and maliciously fine braines could search (immitating him therein, who by his Labours of the very same nature, though with lesse and no ground at all against the sacred Bible, purchased the infamous name of the enemy of Christianity) have doone that hurt vnto the studies of learning, which nothing but the vtter extinguishing of their vnlarned works can expiate.

31 The last meanes I will heare speak of, were vsed in setting forward this reformation of religion, was the diligent compiling the histories of those times and actions, and especially the Martyrologie of such as rendered by their deaths, a testimonie of that truth which was persecuted in them: These memories and stories presenting generally to the world, the singlenesse and innocencie on the one

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parte, the integritie of their lives, the simplicitie of their devises, the zeale of their desires, their constancie in temptations, their tolleracion in torments, their magnanimitie & celestially inspired courage and comfort in their very agonies and death, yeelding their bodies with all patience to the furious flames, and their soules with ioy to the handes of him that made them. On the other side, representing a serpentine generation wholly made of fraud, policies, and practises, men lovers of the world, and haters of truth and godlinesse, fighters against the light, protectors of darknesse, persecuters of marriage, and patrons of brothelles, abnegators and dispencers against the lawes of God, but tyrannous importunators, and exactors of their own: men false in their promises, treacherous in their pretences, barbarous in their executions, breathing nothing but cruelty fire and sword against me that never offended them, save in their desire to amend them, which they could not endure (and much of this, sett out in sundry places with pictures, to imprint thereby a more lively sence of commiseration of the one parte, and detestation of the other) bred in mens minds a strong coceit, that on the one side Truth and Innocencie was persecuted, on the other violence and deceit persecuting, that the one part, cōtrarie to al humane probabilitie, being nourished with the only dew of divine benediction, flourisht in the flames, & as camamile, spread abroad, being trod vnder feet, the other, notwithstanding al humane and infernall devises, yet tursed from above, faded, not vnlike to come to ruine. The Papacie being nettled extreemly with these proceedings, hath resolved to give over the kindling any more of those vnfortunate fiers (save in some secure places, to maintaine the vsage of that law) the ashes of which they have perceived to have beene the seede of their adversaries, but rather by secret making men away in their Inquisitions, and by general massacres to extinguish them. Then to affront them in the same kinde of Martyro ogies and Histories they have first caused stories

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to be written also in their favour, making in them a representation of authority, and iustice proceeding by polittick execution of Lawe, in the necessarie defence of Gods Church, and of all Catholike States and Princes, against a company of base rebelles, of vow-breaking-Friars, of Church-robbing politicians, & Church-raizing souldiers, of infected, and infecting, both Schismaticques and heretiques, innovators of orders, vnderminers of government, troublers of states, over-turners of Christendome; against whom, if they have not yet sufficiently prevailed, it is to be attributed only to the force of popular fury, and not to any strength and goodnesse of their cause, much lesse to any celestially and divine protection. Next for Martirologies, they have *England* for their field to triumph in, the proceedings wherein against their late Papists and complices, they aggravate to the height of *Neroos* and *Dioclesians* persecutions, and the sufferers of their side, both in merites of cause, in extremitie of torments, & in constancy and patience to the renowned Martyres of that Heroicall Church age, whereof (besides sundry other bookes) they have published a great volume lately to the world in Italian, compiled with great industrie, approved by authority; yea some of their bookes also with pictures illustrated: in summe, wanting nothing save onely truth and sinceritie. An easie thing it is without growing to the extreame impudency of palpable lying, by leaving out the bad on the one side, and the good on the other, by enforcing and flourishing all circumstances and accidents which are in our favour, and by elevating and disgracing of all the contrarie, by sprinkeling the termes of honour wholly on the one part, and of hatred and ignomie on the other, to make their tale turne which way shall please the teller. But writers of histories should know, that there is a difference betweene their profession and the practise of advocates, pleading contrarie at the barre, where the wisdom of the Iudge, pickes the truth out of both sides,

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which is intire perhaps in neither.

And verily in this kinde, both the Protestants and Papistes seeme generally in the greatest part of their stories, to be both too blame, though both not equally, having by their passionate reports much wronged the truth, abused this present age, and prejudiced posteritie: in so much, that the onely remedie now seeming to remaine, is to read indifferently the stories on both parts, to count them as advocates and to play the Iudge betweene them. But partiallity seemeth to be the chiefe fault of the Protestant, love & dislike sometimes dazeling his eyes, drawing him from an Historiographers into an Orators profession, though some of them have carried themselves therein with commendable sinceritie, even as some also of the other part have discharged themselves nobly. But surely the Priests and Friars which have written in that kinde, have strangely behaved themselves, and disclosed how small reckoning they make of truth in any thing, their devising, their forging, their facing, their peccing, their adding, their paring, having brought, not onely their modesty, but their wits also in question, whether they forget not what it was they vnderooke to write, a worke of storie, or of poeety rather, which Artes though like, yet (ought they to know) are different. And for these Martyrologies, to speake of *England* as they doe, (let the truth of Religion be indifferent on whether side) vnlesse difference be made betweene men, who suffer for their consciences onely, their very adversaries having no other crime to object against them, and those who eyther in their owne particular persons, or at leastwise in their directors, whom they have chosen to follow, and vowed to obey, are convinced to have attempted against the Prince and state, and to have practised the alteration and ruine of both. If no difference be to be made between these mens sufferings, let all things be a like, let the persecuting of the sheepe and the hunting of wolves be one. But enough, and too much perhaps of these

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these comparisons and imitations.

33 I will ioine onely heereto their pollicie of newes, for some kinde of resemblance it hath with the former. It could not (I must confesse) settle in my conceit of a long time, that men of their wisdom, so well furnished with better meanes, should descend to that base & vaine devise of inventing and spreading false newes in their favour, being an odious kinde of abusing the world; and such also as in the end, being choaked with the truth, redoundes to the deepe disgrace and discredite of the Authors, being accounted no other then the trick of a bankrupt. Howbeit, finding by experience that this is frequent amongst them in other places: at *Rome* above all other, it was almost their ordinary practise; from whence, during the time of my abode in *Italie* (besides other lesse memorabl) there came first solemne newes that the Patriarkes of *Alexandria* with all the great Church of *Africa* had by their Ambassadors submitted & reconciled themselves to the Pope, and received from his holinesse absolution and benediction, there being no such matter as I learned afterwards of a great Bishop, who hath particular acquaintance and intelligence with that Patriarke. Another time that the King of Scots amongst many acts worthy a Christian Prince, had chased away the Ministers, yea and executed two of them, confiscating their goods, and bestowing them vpon the Catholikes, which newes was soone after recalled from the same place. Not long after that, *Beza* the Arch-heretick, and *Calvines* successour, drawing towards his death, had in full Senate at *Geneva*, recanted his religion, exhorting them, that if they had care to save their soyles, to seeke reconciliation with the Catholike Church, and to send for the *Iesuits* to instruct them. Wherevpon, both himselfe by speciall commission from the Pope, was absolved by the Bishop of *Geneva* ere hee died, and the Citie had sent an ambassage of submission: the beginning of which newes it was my chance to heare,

*Inventing of
false newes,*

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as being whispered among the Iesuites two monethes before it brake out. But when once it was advertised so solemnly from *Rome*, it ranne over all Christendome, and in *Italy* was so verily beleaved to be true, that their were, as is said, who rode on very purpose to see those Ambassadors of *Geneva*, yet invisible. And to make vp the full measure of that worthy pollicy, being afterwards at *Lions* and vnderstanding that the Poste of *Rome*, who then passed by for *Spaine*, gave confidently out, that he left the Queene of *Englands* Ambassadors at *Rome*, making great instance for agreement and amity with his holinesse, and to have her recatholised and absolved, newes, as to me the seemed cut out purposely for *Spaine*, & to comfort their fauourers & affected adherents: finding also by the observation and judgement of some wise men, that the *Iesuites* are the Maisters of that mint, and that all the coines are of their stamp, yea, and that the glorious newes of the miraculous proceedings of the Fathers of their society in converting the *Indies*, are not thought much truer. And lastly, perceiuing that the doctrine of all that side in the cases of conscience, making it lawfull for them to equivocate with their aduersaries in their answers, though giue vpon their oathes, whensoever their lives or liberties are touched, yet the *Iesuites* are noted by some of their owne friends to be too hardy equivocators, and their equivocations too hard, whereof they giue this example of a *Iesuite*, who instructed a maid servant in *England*, That if she were examined whether she knew of any Priests resorting to her maisters house, she should sweare (if she were put to it) that she knew not of any, which she might doe lawfully with this secret intent, that shee knew not of any, (viz. with purpose to disclose them.) Though others defend this as a point of allowable wisdom, all these things considered, it hath made me to mitigate my former imagination, and to deeme it not impossible, that this over politike & too wise order, may reach a note higher then our grosse con-

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conceits, who thinke Honestie the best policie, and Truth the onely durable armor of prooffe, and may find by their refined observations of experience, that newes make their impression vpon their first reporting, that then if they be good, they greatly raise vp the spirit, and confirme the minde, especially of the vulgar sort, who easily beleeve all that their betters tell them: and afterwards when they hap to be controlled, mens spirits being cold, or not so sensible as before, they either litle regard it, or impute it to common errors & vncertainty of things, yea and that the good newes commeth to many mens eares, who never heard of the checke it hath, and at leastwise it may serve their turne for some present exploit, as Marchants do with their newes, (whether imitators or imitated of these men, I know not) who finding some difficultie in accommodating their affaires, have in vse to forge letters, or otherwise raise bruits, eyther of some good successe in their Princes actions, (as our men they say at *Constantinople*) or of some great alterations in some kind of marchandise, (as certaine not long since have done at *Paris*) which may serve for that present instant to expediate their businesse; yet surely me-thinks these learned fathers should consider that though lying bee helde for a necessary fault in Marchants, (if any fault be necessary, which for my part I hold not) yet it cannot be admitted for an allowable pollicy in Divines, being the ofspring of that arch-enemy, both of the Dietie and Divinitie: and if a dead flie doe viciate a whole boxe of sweet oyntment, so a little folly may blemish greatly a very wise man, and some fallshood discredit the delivery of much truth. Then verily I crave leave at their hands, of advancing them in the rest of their supertle inventions, I arrange this amongst the poore pollicies of the hospitall of the desperate.

Now these being weapons wherewith they fight against their adversary, they whet the, by framing an vtter breach or separation in all religious duties betweene their

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partie and their opposites, not only in such points as wherein they discent, (which is the part of all men which list not to wound their owne consciences,) neither yet in all ecclesiasticall duties alone, (which sundry other Churches, antient and moderne, have done, and still doe,) as thinking that the good things which heretiques retaine, are vitiated by those bad, wherewith either their faithes or functions are stained, though perhaps there be a dram more of zeale then charity, in the ingredience of that Canon, ylesse the heresie be capitall and directly opposite to the glorie of God, or honour of our Saviour. But the Church of *Rome* at this day hath strained that string, as to stretch it out to all diuine duties whatsoever, though not Ecclesiasticall, but performed by private persons, and in severall, as occasion serves; neither to such onely as faith hath revealed to vs Christians, but even those which the light of Nature hath taught all men in the world; yea, *Pagans* and *Barbarians* as yeelding glorie to God, imploring his aide and fauoure, tending him thanks for benefits, in none of which actions may they ioyne with the Protestants, being so commaunded by the soveraigne Lord of their Church. If a Protestant begin to settle himselfe to pray, with that prayer which the lippes of our Saviour hath sanctified and taught, it is now so polluted by passing through his lippes, that a *Romane Catholick* may not stay in the roome, if hee heare that voice which all the creatures of God in their severall languages doe daily sound forth and say; God bee praised: or, Glorie bee to the Highest. The *Romanist* alone is silent, and may not ioyne his assent, if at meate hee yeelde thanks vnto God for his blessings, bee it but with *Deo gratias*, (which was ever in *Augustines* mouth though this chaseth not a Catholike from his dinner, (which were to his losse,) yet must hee forbear his *Amen* vnto it.

On the contrarie side, some *Romane Catholicks* will
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not saie grace, though be at his owne Table, when a Protestant is present, thinking it better to leave GOD vserved, then that a Protestant ioyne in serving him, though the Custome of giving GOD thanks at meales, is generally amongst these Catholiques growne cleane out of vse both in *Fraunce* and *Italy*, for ought I could see: as not knowing that the Popes pardon is gained by the vse of grace in cuppes. In summe, they are more averse to ioyne with a Protestant in dooing honour to G. O. D., then the very brute beasts, if beasts by proper speech could sound forth Gods praise, as the legends of their Saints in their favour doe fancie, wherein how religiously they have proceeded for the amplifying and advauncing of Gods service, that G. O. D doth know: how politiquely for the strengthening of their owne part amongst their enemies, that the world may know by these few considerations; First by this course that they keepe their lay followers in a perpetuall darke ignorance of the Protestants faith and religion, having made it an high degree of deadly sinne, either to read their bookes, or to heare their Sermons, or to be present at their Service, or any way to communicate with them in religious duties whatsoever. Whereby, whatsoever their lay multitude conceiveth of the reformed religion, or of the points of doctrine which therein are taught, is that only which the enemies thereof doe tell them, who reports according to the disease of their owne stomackes, and as I may represent it, in most odious and hideous forme to the hearers.

So that now no more mervaille (which experience doth teach,) that seldome or never a lay Catholique can bee found, that conceiveth rightly of any (almost) of the Protestants propositions, sith seldome or never was Romane Priest yet to be shewen, that hath not falsified and depraued them viterly in reporting them. Whereas, if those lay Catholiques should once open their
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cares to know the Protestants opinions from themselves, that hold the (which was the vse of the old world in their ingenious simplicitie and singlenesse of proceeding) they would not bee found, either so absurd perhaps, but that a reasonable, or so wicked, but that a religious minde might imbrace them.

Then secondly, by this meanes they doe knit their own fact on more fast together, and vnite them more soundly to the head thereof the Pope, sith no service of God, but in his communion, and with him no coniunction without vtter separation and estranging from his enemies, whereas if his party should but ioyne with the Protestants in such service of GOD, as are allowed by both, this concurring with them in some actions, might abate that vtter dislike which they have of their whole way, yea and happily taking a liking of them in some things, they might bee drawne still by degrees to other; and finally, stepp away or grow colde in their first affections. For factions, as by disparitie of minde they are raised: so by strangenesse they are continued and growne mortall; whereas on the other side, they are slaked by intercourse, by parley they are reconciled, by familiarity extinguished. A memorabable example of the vertue of this pollicie our owne Country in these latter times hath yeelded, wherein the first reformation vnder King *Edward*, the Prelates and Clergie having before discarded the Pope, did easily ioyne with the Protestants, though not in their opinions, yet in the publike service of God in the Churches, being indifferently composed, and offensive to neither part. And but that the Pope soone after vpon extraordinary cause, was restored to his former authority by *Queene Mary*, that faction had in likelihoode bin long since ended. But after that the Pope was once againe admitted, and had liberty to temper with his partie at pleasure, in the second reformation by her Maiesty, not a Bishop of his could be perswaded to come to our Churches but

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but choosing rather losse of living; and the greatest part also of Recusants, which have since beene continued by their followers to this day. Notwithstanding our service be lesse offensive to them, then in King Edwards, and in no part opposite to any point of their beleefe. But so it seemed good to their polittique Governours, by this vtter breach and alienation, to preserve and perpetuate the remains of their partie, and that in the midst of their more potent adversaries, though armed with Lawes, quickened with suspicions, yea exasperated by their often dangerous practises against them.

Now in that they proceede also a steppe further, and inhibite their partie, not onely the reading of the Protestants bookes, and repaire to their Churches, but also ioyning with them in any service of God, in whomsoever, or in how lawfull sort soever performed, thereby doe they ingender in them an extreame hatred, and bitter detestation of their opposites. For if the Protestants, by reason of their enemie with the Pope, and swarving from his way, do stand in tearmes of so deepe disfavour with God, that the prayer it selfe doe turne into sinne; that their humble thanksgivings are abominable presumptions; that to ioyne with them in praying the Creator of the world, is no better then treason to his Maiestie: then surely, woe woorth the houre wherein they were borne, and blessed bee that hand that shall worke their bane and ruine. Then no stay or doubt, but what the Pope directes, that boldly to bee executed against these enemies of God: And this have they set vpp as a Crowne, and accomplishment, to the rest of their practises against their adversaries: for now is their faction, not onely kept on foote, and continually mainteined without decay, but enflamed also with such hatred of their enemies, that they are readie to any violence, that opportunity shall devise. For as diversities of iudgements doe growe into dislikes, and dislikes by oppositions doe issue into facti-

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ons; so hatred in factions doth breake out into seditions, and attend onely aduanrage to vse force against these they hate: whereas on the contrarie side the Protestants (being not armed, nor quickened vp with such stings of hatred as his aduersaries) is more cold and carelesse in his opposite desires, and exceeding inferiour in all strong attempts and practises. But certainly howsoeuer in this crafty kinde of pollicie, which hath too much bewitched the wittes of this age, and doth too much tyrannise over that auncient true wisdom, wherewith the world in fore-times was more happily governed, these courses may seeme very fine and effectuell for the atchieving of that end whereto they are framed; yet hard (I suppose) now it would bee to bee showne, how they can stand with the principles and rules of that Religion, whose rore is Truth, whose braunches are Charitie, whose fruites are good deedes, extending and ever offering themselves with cheerefulnesse vnto all men, to the encouraging of friendes, and reclaiming of enemies, to the amending of the worse, and the accomplishing of the better and noble mindes, in the high vertuousnesse thereof, doth carrie it selfe in all actions, with such moderation, and measure, as that it neither hate his enemy so much in regard of his wickednesse, but loves that whatsoever in him hath resemblance of vertue; neither yet feare him, so much for his mischievous desires, as to rage and growe fierce vpon him in his weaknesse, but contenteth it selfe so farre-forth onely to repress him, as maie dis-inable him thence forwardes from doing hurte vnto others, how much more may it seeme reasonable, that the heavenly affections of a Christian reioyce for whatsoever goodnesse appeareth in any man, as finding there some liniaments of his Creators Image, detest nothing but impietic and wickednesse the worldes dishonour.

And lastly, in the true and serious worshipping
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of God, doe ioyne when occation offers, with whatsoeuer of his creatures in vnited affections, to cheere vp his service, where scandall (by shewe of approving that which is euill in them) doth not hinder: But the world in the basenesse of his mettall, nowe in the last and woorst, and in the weakenesse of his olde and decayed yeares, laying the ground of all his pollicie, in feare and ielousie issuing from a certaine consciuousnesse of his owne worthlesnesse, and for want of vertue, holdeth this course for the best, which workes with the greatest advantage, and most secret, against those which either are, or in time may become concurrants or ennimies, letting passe with some termes of spirituall commendations, those auncient & more noble waies, which being derived from the high governour of both the worldes: and having their ground in the immoveable principles of true wisdom & vertue, must needs be of great force, both for the vpholding and effecting of all worthie and honorable desires, were there a firme minde to pursue them, and a strong arme to weild them; both which to this weake world are wanting but of this matter sufficient.

It is nowe time to come to the view of those meēes which are vsed by the Papacie, for excluding of all accessse and sound of Religion, in those places where their power remayneth yet vnabridged: wherein (as in other like cases before) I will lightly passe over that which is apparant to all eyes: and that is, what service their Inquisition doth therein, being in truth, the principall and most forcible engine in accomplishing that worke, and such as wheresoever it, and the coundell of *Trent* can bee thoroughly planted and established, (as in *Spaine* and all *Italie*, saving onely in the kingdom of *Naples*, where the tyrannie of *Spaine* is an Inquisition sufficient (as the Inquisition is also of the two, the better) that it doth rid the of feare, and their aduersaries of hope, of letting in the reformation vnlasse perhaps in some vniuersall deluge of

*Pollicie whereby
the Papacie doth
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of reformed reli-
gion.
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warre, when the execution of lawes and such searchers shall bee forced to cease. For this Inquisition being committed tightly to the most zealous, industrious, and rigorous Friars that can bee found in all places, who leave no one rule thereof vnpractised, taking hold of men for the least suspicion of Heresie, or of affinitie, or commerce with Heretiques that may bee, as the bare reprooving sometimes the lives of the Cleargie, or having anie Booke or edition prohibited (though yet with some regarde of the nature and qualitie of the persons seeing many men make those octions suspicious, which otherwise would not make the man) discovering men, by the pressing of all mens consciences, whom they charge vnder an high degree of damnation (being a case reserved, and wherein not any vnder a Bishop or Archbishop can absolve them) as I have seene in their printed instructions at *Sciens*, to apeach even their nearest and dearest friendes if they knewe, or did but suspect them to bee culpable therein proceeding against the detected, with such secretis, and severitie, as that first they shall never have notice of their accusers, but shall bee vrged to reveale their verie thoughts, and affections: Secondly, if by long inquirie they be taken tardie in any one thing delivered in their opinions, or can bee convicted thereof by any two witnesses, they are cast and gone.

Thirdly, if nothing fall out to be proved against them, yet will they hold them in their holy house diverse years, sometimes in great anguish and miserie, for a terrour to other, and for their exact tryall. And lastly, besides all other tortures and scornes, if one be rouched the second time, nothing but death without remission. This doth to sweepe all the quarters and corners where it walkes, that as a sheering wind it killeth all in the budde, no wit nor provision being possible to avoide it, yea, is such a bridle to the verie freedome of minde, and libertie of speech which

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which they of their owne way would otherwise vse, That many of their Catholiques elsewhere who would die perhaps if need so were, for their religion, yet abhorre the verie mention and name of the Inquisition, as being the greatest slavery, that ever the world hath tasted: and that the *Venetians* themselves could never yet be brought to admit in other sort, then with certaine verie favourable exceptions for strangers (who are generally also in *Italie* little searched into their consciences, by reason of the gain that comes by their repaire, but may passe well enough if they giue no scandall) and with retaining the soveraigne sway thereof in their owne hands at all times. But to let the racke of mens soules thus rest as an invention, fitter for the religion of *Antiochus*, and *Dominian*, or *Mahometes Alcheron*, than for the clemencie of his Gospell, who was Prince of mildnesse and mercie, it is a wonderfull thing to see what cutious order & diligence they vse, to suffer nothing to be done or sprung vp among themselves which may any way give footing to the Religion they so much hate: And first for the scriptures, Forso much as the reformation seemeth grounded vpon them, having striven to square it out wholly by that rule, as farre forth as their vnderstanding and wits could wade. And forasmuch as it is a thing which the *Romanistes* denie not, That a great part of their Religion hath other foundation, which seemeth in many points to swarve much, yea and plaine-ly to crosse the scriptures, as an ordinarie Reader by his meere naturall witt, not fashioned by their distinctions, nor directed by their glosses would expound it. For this cause though heretofore to stop their adversaries mouths, alwaies yelping and crying with hatefull soundes, That they would not suffer the poore people to heare GOD speake to them, that they statued and murdered their soules in ignorance, robbing them of the breade of life, the voyce of Christ, and cramming and choaking them with their emptie superstitions, their poysoned Ido-

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latries. That their scriptures would shew them that their worshipping of Images was ever with threats prohibited in the law of God: That their praying in vnknowne languages, and by tale, is plainly reprovved, their invocating and praying to saints, a matter there never heard of, that their ceremonies were vanities, their trafficke for soules very sacriledge, their Miracles delusions, their indulgences blasphemies, that it would discover their Church to be the bodie strangely infected and polluted with soule and pestilent diseases, And finally, that their not erring and incontinable Lord of *Rome* was no other than that imperious bewitching Ladie of *Babylon*: though, I say, as well to beat back these irkelome outeries of their adversaries, as also to give some content & satisfaction to their owne, that they might not thinke them so terrible afraid of the Bible, they were contented to let it be translated by some of their fauourers into the vulgar, as also some number of Copies thereof to be saleable for a while at the beginning. Yet since having huiſht that former clamour and taken better provision for the establishing of their affaires, they have called all vulgar Bibles straightly in againe (yea the verie Psalmes of *David*, which their famous Preacher Bithop *Pangereola* translated) as doubting else the vnaualeablensse of those former inconveniencies.

To let passe these hard conceits which they breede in the multitude, as touching the inextricable obscuritie of the scriptures, the easinesse to mistake it, the dangerousnesse to erre by it, having raised in some places such base and blasphemous proverbes concerning it, I would rather themselves would extinguish them, than that I list to giue life by recording them in this place, neyther yet in their verie sermons, though they preach alwaies in a manner of the Gospell of the day, doe they read or any waye recite the text, but discourse onely on such pointes of it as they thinke fittest, without more solemnitie, that no
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sound of Scripture may possesse the people, although the use in *France* be otherwise for that matter, yea some parts of Scripture, as *Saint Pauls* Epistles they are so iealous of, and thinke so dangerous, that (as I have heard credible report, (for my selfe did not see it) some of their Iesuites of late in *Italie* in solemne Sermons, and other their favorites elsewhere in private communication commending betweene them *Saint Peter* for a worthy spirite, have censured *Saint Paule* for a hote headed person, who was so transported with his pangs of zeale and eagrenesse beyond all compasse in most of his disputes, That there was no greate reckoning to be made of his Assertions, yea he was dangerous to read, as favouring of heresie in some places, and better perhaps he had never written. Agreeably to which I heard other of their Catholiques deliver, that it hath beene heeretofore very seriously consulted among them, to have censured by some meanes, and reformed the Epistles of *Saint Paul*, though for my owne part, I must confesse I cannot beleve this point, as beeing an attempt too abhominable and blasphemous, and for these times too desperate a scandall. But howsoever, he of all other is least beholding to them, whom of mine owne knowledge and hearing some of them teach in the pulpit, not to have beene secure of his preaching, but by conference with *Saint Peter*, nor that he durst publish his Epistles, till *Saint Peter* had allowed them, these orders they have taken to avoide danger from the written worde, advancing in steede thereof, the amplitude, the sufficiency, and vnfallible certaintie of GODS Oracles and wordes not written, but delivered by the custodie of his holy Church by speech onely, which Church hath delivered her mind in the Councell of *Trent*, whereto al those that are solemnly made Doctors in *Italie* must subscribe.

35 And as in the foundation of the Reformation which is the Scriptures, so much more in the edifice it selfe, the doctrine and opinions they beate away all sound
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and eccho of them, beeing not lawfull there to alleadge them, no not to glaunce at them, nor to argue & dispute of them, no not to refute them: In ordinary matter of communication to talke of matters of religion is odious and suspicious, but to enter into any reasoning, though for Argument sake, without other scandall, is prohibited and dangerous. Yea it was once my fortune to be halfe threatened for no other fault than for debating with a Jew, and vpholding the trueth of Christianitie against him, so vnlawfull are all disputes of Religion whatsoever: And the Friars even in *Fraunce*, in their indeuours to convert other, will say it is lawfull to perswade them, but not to dispute with them. But in *Italie* this is much more exactly observed, wherein their Diuinitie disputations in their Vniuersities or Colledges (as some such disputations they haue, but very sleight and vnfrequent) I could not perceiue that ever they debated any question at this day controverted otherwise than as ever among themselves, and betweene the Schoolemen. And which was more straunge to me till I sounded the reason, in no place of *Italie* where ever I came, could I haue anie of their Preachers treat of any point in question betweene them and the Protestants save onely at *Padua*, where, in respect there are alwaies diuerse hundreth of strangers of the aduerser part, it is otherwise practised. But in all other places, for ought I could perceiue, either they mention now no aduersaries, or if they do (which is very seldome) yet doe they not vnfolde their opinions and arguments, but either from other Chimeras of their owne in steed of them, & so flourish about or two in canyasing their owne shadowes, as is vsuall in *France* also, or else dispatch them away with certaine generall reproches, and then (as I haue heard) some of them will formally conclud. But what do I name Heretikes in an assemblie of Catholiques? Howbeit they are not so forgetfull and carelesse of their crosse neighbours, as this course might seeme at the first blush

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import; but those offices they doe, they doe them to the best purpose, teaching the people sometime in pulpit, much more in private conference, and in their confession, that the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, are blasphemers of God, and of all his Saints; and above all other, that they despise and vilifie our Lady, saying plainly, she was no better than one of their owne wives. That they abolish the Church Sacraments, the onely meanes of salvation, that where ever they come, they either raze or robbe Churches, & make stables of them, that in *England* they have neither Churches, nor any form of religion, nor serve God any way, that the English Nation (since their falling away from their Church) is growne so barbarous, that their students are very Cannibals, and eate young children, and that there is no kind of villanie, which is not currant amongst them. And that above all other places, *Geneva* is a very professed Sanctuary of Roderie, giving harbour to all the runnagates, traitors, rebels, and wicked persons of all other Countries: By which speech, verie generally in *Italie*, spread and beleev'd, some memorable accidents have at some times happened, Sundry of their priggish and loose Friars, hearing *Geneva* to be a place of good fellowship (and thinking the worse pranks they plaid with their owne, ere they came ther, to finde the better welcome at their coming) have robbed their Convents of their Church-plate, & repository, and brought away the bootie in triumph to *Geneva*, vnder the colour of being reformed in their Religion, where their advancement hath bene straight to the Gibbet for their labour; a reward vnexpected, and such as caused them to complaine pitifully of their wrong information. For such is the extraordinary severity of that Citie, as to punish crimes committed without their estate, with no lesse rigor, then as if they had bene done amongst them. And not many yeers since, it was the lot of a Spanish Gallant, who stood vpon his State, and carryed a Mint about him, to repaire thither to have stamps

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made him for the coyning of Pistolets . His defence was, that hee vnderstoode that their Citie was free, & gave receipt to all offenders: but withal (said they) when they were come they punished their offences; a distinction which the poore Gentleman never before studied, & the learning of it then cost him no lesse then his head-peece. And as by those kinds of slanders, so also to harden mens mindes, against them, they will tell of strange miracles have befallen them; a point wherewith the Pulpits of *France* doe also ring dayly, where in the siege of *Paris*, they were growne to that audaciousnes, as to perswade the people there (who generally beleeeved it) that the thūder of the Popes excommunications had so blasted the Heretikes, that their faces were growne al black & vgly as Diuels, their eyes & looks gattly, their breaths noysome and pestilent, much like to the *Servi de Madon & Bollonia*, whom I heard in Pulpit among a multitude of moderne miracles, which had fallen out to their punishments who were excommunicated (the continuing wherein a yeare without seeking absolution, incurreth suspition of heresie) tell this also of an hereticall gentleman of *Polonia*, who talking at a solemne dinner against the Pope, the bread of his trencher grewe black as inke, & vpon his repētance it returned to his former whitenes. A thing happened but lately, & reported by the Popish Ambassadors to a Cardinall, by the Cardinall to a Bishop, by this Bishop to this Frier, an imitation perhaps of that renowned miracle of eating tables for hunger, threatned by that winged Prophetesse, with like deduction of credit, *Qua Phabo pater omnipotens mihi Phœbus Apollo Predixit vobis furiarum ego maxima pando*: And these things are in steed of refuting the Protestants religion, which are not in vaine: for the vulgar sort of people, who beleeeved (as they say) God and Pope, thinke all Gospell that their Fryars tell them. And I have heard some coniecture at others to bee *Lutherans*, only by reason that they were so mōstrous blasphemers as they were; but all are not of that stampe, those Gentle-

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Gentlemen and others that have travelled abroad, & those also at home, that are not passionately blind, but discreet and inquisitive of the truth of all things, howsoever dissenting from them, yet have no such conceit of the Protestants opinions or actions. But the most strange thing (as to me it seemeth) of all other; is, that those principall writers, who have imployed themselves wholly in refuting from point to point the Protestants doctrine, & arguments, are so rare in *Italy*, as by ordinary inquiry (I beleeve) are not to be found. The controversie of Cardinall *Bellarmino*, I sought for in *Venice* in all places, neither that, nor *Gregory of Valenza*, nor any of such quality, could I ever in any shop in *Italy* set eye on, but in stead of them, an infinite of meere invectives and declamations, which made me intertain this suspicious coniecture, that it might be their care, that no part of the Protestants positions and allegations should be known, they were so exact, as to make discurrēt in some, even those very bookes, which were constrained to recite them, that they might refute them in such wise, as not to suffer them to be commonly saleable, but only to such, & in such places, as the superiors shal think meet: but the truth of this coniecture I leave to further enquiry. The conclusion is this, no sound of the reformed religion, either stirring in *Italy*, or by any humane wit now possible to be raised, for to bring in from forreine places any heriticall writing, though it were without malice, it were two years straight imprisonmēt (as they say) if he scaped so. So far are they from their adversaries, eyther simplicity, if their cause be bad, or honesty, if good, who not onely in the most of their Replies, print both together, to give means of indifferency in iudging to the Reader, but even permit their adversaries (yet unanswered) disputers to runne current among them, so they be in the Latin, and not purposely writtē (as som are) misdrawing the multitude. It remained now to restraine the *Italians* from going abroad to forreine Countries where those contagious sounds and sights might infect them. Heerein the nature of the *Italian*

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doth supply, who wonders at vs Englishmen that come travelling so farre thither, himselfe having no humor to stirre one foot abroad. And indeed little neede, considering how all nations in Christendome do flock to him, but not so for marchants, these fly abroad in exceeding abundance to all places, and in wealth (where ever they come) overtop all other, such is their skil, their witt, their industry, their parsimonie. Behold then this late Popes exploit in that point, he hath, by his painted Bul, vnder paine of excommunication, forbidden them all repaire for traffique to hereticall countries, wherevpon some (as I heare) are retired from Englād and other in other places are said to have importunated & obtained some out chappell to have their Masse in. Thus hath euery gap his bush, each suspicion his prevention.

36 One thing only remaineth as a garland to all the rest: It were a hard state and tyrannicall, where the Superiours should assume to themselves all licence of doing, and not permit the inferiours, at least wise, libertie of speaking, which is but a slender revenge for so great a wrong as ill government; yet such as by giving vent to the boyling fumes of hatred, doth evaporate and aslake that heat which otherwise would flame out into fire and mischief. For which cause the wisest mē have bin alwaies pleased, that loosers should have their words. And they that endeavored to bridle mens tongues by sharp laws (whom they rather should have charmed and held in tune by their owne integritie) haue learned that things violent are seldome permanēt, that the enioying of too much patience, makes mē breake into madness. Yea, I haue heard men of great experience and iudgment say, that the best way to reconcile countrey enmities is, to let the good men chide a while heartily together, & their stomakes once being disgorged, a peaceable motion will find good audience, so necessarie are these evaporations to the mind of the multitude, which may serve for a iustification of the wisdom of the Papacie in those former free times when they; and others said, what ech humor advised

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advised. But little was it then feared which since hath followed, little was it then imagined, that the time shoulde come, when the world awakened by the cries of a Friar, should looke so broadly about, and search so narrowly al the sleights and hid corners of the Papacie. what their doctrine had beene, what their lives, what their scopes, what their practises. Not so many of the consecrated Divines, patrones of the Roman state, with thousands of prayers & vowes daily adored: nor so many of their inshrined and myracle-woorking-Images, to whome such store of lāpes and pure candels were daily burning, so much incense perfumed, so long iournies to pilgrimage perfourmed, such aboundance of giftes and glad offerings presented, One whom lastly, so many, so devout, so humble hung downe heades, and bowed knees, and beaten breastes, and lifted vpp eyes attended, did ever foretell so notable a calamitie. It was not then thought that their would arise a generation, who would alleadge in good earnest, that, diverse hundred of yeares since, as also more freshly, sundrie of their owne Authors and followers, had (in bitter detestation of their monstrous abomination) described out the Pope for the antichrist foreprophefied; called *Rome*, the very *Babylon* and temple of heresies, the corrupter of the world, the hate of heaven, and in effect, the verie gate or hieway to hell: that the lives of their Prelates, Priests, Friars and Nunnes, (not for some particular offences which will alwaies befall, but for the ordinary tenor and course of conversation) had beene so reported by men of their owne religion, that an honest adversary cannot reade them without sorrowe, nor a modest, without shame and blushing: that the iniquitie of their chiefe See hath bin so exorbitant, as to have raised among themselves this saying, amongst other concerning it, ingrossed in their owne booke; That the worst christians in Italy are the Romans, that of the Romans, the Priests are the most wicked, the lewddest Priests are preferred to be Cardinals,

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and the baddest among the Cardinals is chosen to be Pope. Neither was it then foreseene that the world entering into these considerations, would thinke that they had reason, which called for a reformation, that it was not a farall calamitie of this age, but a supernatural blessing of God from aboute, after the kindling of many precursory lights of knowledge, and furnishing other instruments to serve thereto, to direct a meere accident of scandall of their part, namely, the vndiscreet proclaiming and seale on their pardons (as the wisest and worthiest of their owne Historiographers reports it) to the provoking of certaine men of more zeale, & courage, than pollicy, or skill in conducting their actions; who without any such premeditated intent, yea and drawne into the listes, & held in them against their will, by the violent pressing and insulting of their adversaries, having beene forced to sift throughly the Romish doctrine and practise, have discovered therein those errors and abuses, which it was hie time to be swept and purged out of the Church, and that the establishing of this reformation, how vnperfit soever, to be done by so weake and simple meanes, yea by casuall and crosse meanes, against the force of so puissant and politique an adversary, is that miracle which wee are in these times to looke for; wherein it pleaseth God (whose goodnes doth alwaies speake out) to renoune his higher wisdom, in guiding this vntoward world by ordinarie courses, as in fore-times his power by annexing therein his often extraordinarie wonders. But the Papacy at this day, by wofull experience, what damage this licence of writing among themselves hath done them, and that their speeches are not only weapons in the hands of their aduersaries, but eyesores and stumbling blocks also to their friends, vnder shew of purging the world from the infection of all the wicked & corrupt bookes and passages, which are eyther against honesty or good manners; for which two purposes, they have their severall officers, who indeed, blot out much impiousnes and filth, and therein de-
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serve to bee both condemned and imitated (wherunto the *Venetians* adde also a third to let nothing passe that may iustly be offensive to Princes) have in truth, pared, and lopt off al whatsoever, in a manner, their watchfull eyes could observe, either free in disclosing their abuses & corruptions, or sawcie in construing their drifts & practises; or dishonorable to the Cleargy, or vndutiful to the Papacy: these editions only authorised, all other are disallowed, called in, consumed, with threats to whomsoever shall presume to keepe them; That no speech, no writing, no evidence of things past, no discourse of things present: in sum, nothing whatsoever may sound ought, but holinesse, honour, purity, integrity to the vnspotted spouse of Christ, & to his vnerring vicar, to the mistris of Churches, to the father of Princes. But, as it fals out now & then, that wisdom & good fortune are the ruine of them, that too much follow them, by drawing men sometimes, vpon a presumption of their wit & cunning in contrivements and of their good succes withall in one attempt, to adventure vpon an other still of yet more subtile invention, and more dangerous executio, which breaks in the end with the very finenesse it selfe, & overwhelmes them with difficulties: So it is to be thought, that their prosperous succes in pruning & pluming those latter writers affected with good ease, and no very great clamor, as having some reason, and doing really some good, was it that did breed in them a conceipt, that it was possible to worke the like conclusion in writers of elder times, yea in the fathers themselves. In al other monuments of reverend antiquitie, & the opinion of possibility redoubling their desire, brought forth, in fine, that *Index expurgatorius*, whereof, I suppose, they are now not a little ashamed, they having by misfortune lighted in their adversaries hands (from whome they desired by all means to conceale them) where they remaine as a Monument to the iudgement of the world, of their everlasting reproach and ignomy. These purging *Indices* are of divers sorts, some
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worke not above 800. years vpward, other venture much higher, even to the prime of the Church, the effect is, that forasmuch as there were so many passages in the Fathers, and other antient Ecclesiasticall writers, which their adversaries producing in averment of their opinions, they were not able, but by trickes & shiftes of wit, to reply & to ease themselves, of that wit, labour, and qualitie, perhappes indeede, more commendable in some other trade than in Diuinitie, where Veritie shoulde sway, where the love of the truth should assubiect or extinguish wholly all other passions, and the the eie of the minde fixed attentively vpon that obiekt, should divert from the regarding of other motions whatsoever. Some assemblies of their Divines, with consent, no doubt, of their redoubted superiors and soveraignes, have delivered expresse order, that in the impressions of these Autors, which hereafter should be made the scādalous places there named, should be cleane left out, which perhaps (though in this present age would have finally prevailed to the reclaiming of their adversaries) it would have bin great assurāce to the retayning of their owne, to whome no other bookes should have bin granted; yea perhaps, Time & Industrie, which eate even thorow marbles, extinguishing or getting into their hands all former Editions: and for any other new to be set out by their adversaries there is no great fear, whose books being discurrant in all Catholiques countries, their wāt of meanes requisite to vtter an impression, would disharten them from the charge, the mouth also of Antiquity should be thoroughly shut vps from vttering any sillable or sound against them.

Lastly, by adding wordes where oportunitie and pretence might serve, and by drawing in the marginall notes & glosses of their friars into the text of the fathers, (as in some of the they have already very handsomely begun, for the mouth of antiquity should be allso opened for the) Their remained then only the rectifying of S *Paule*, whose

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turne in all likelihoode, (if ever) should be the next, and other places of Scripture, whose authority beeing set beneath the Churches alreadie, it were no greate matter to submit also to her censures, especially for so good an intēt, as the weeding out of heresies, and the preserving of the Catholike faith in his purity & glory. But above all other, the second Commandement (as the Protestants, Grecians, and Iewes reckon it) were like to abide it, which already in their vulgar catechisme is discarded as words superfluous, or at leastwise vnfit or vnnecessarie for these times: and then, without an Angel sent downe from heaven, no means to controule or gain-say them in any thing. But these are the dreames, perhaps, of some over-passionate desires, at leastwise not likely to take place in our times. But what is it which the opinions of the not possibility of erring, of the necessary assistance of Gods spirite in their Consistories, of authoritie vnlmited, of power both to dispence of Gods lawes in this world, & to alter his arrests and iudgements in the other (for therevnto doe their pardons to them in Purgatory extend). What is it which these so high and fertile opinions are not able to engender, and powerfully to inforce, and to execute, carrying men away headlong with this raging conceipt; that whatsoever they doe by the Popes, they doe by Gods owne commandement, whose Lievtenant on the earth he is, by a comission of his own penning: that is to say, with absolute and unrestrained iurisdiction, that whatsoever they do for the advancement of his See and Scepter, they do it for the vpholding of the Church of Christ, and for the salvation of mens soules, which but of his obedience doe vndoubtedly perish. And verily it seemes; no causelesse doubt of feare, that these humours, so forward, so ventrous to alter and chastice with palpable partiality, the workes of former times in any age, which hath so many iealous eyes on their fingers, so many mouths open to publish their owne shaine, such store of coppies to restore and repaire whatsoever

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they should presume to maime or deprave that in former ages, when there were few copies, small difficulties, no enemies, as it is found by certaine & irrefragable arguments; that bastard writings were forged in their favour, and fathered on honest men, who never begat them. So also they might besides, by their choppings and changings, puttings in, and pvttings out, suppress many good evidence which they perceived were not greatly to their purpose should be extant. But of all others, in reforming and purifying of Authors, the care and diligence of this Pope doth farre exceede, who not content with that which hath beene done in that kinde before him, nor thinking things yet so bright as they should be, causeth much to be perused and skowred over anew; yea, and it is thought, will cassiere some worthy Authors, who as yet (though with cuts and gashes) hold ranke amongst them. And for a further terrour, not to retaine bookes prohibited, I have seen in their printed instructions for confession, the hearing or reading of bookes forbidden, set in ranke amongst the sinnes against the first Commandements. And for further provision, the *Jewes* (who have no other trades to speake of, then loane of money and old stuffe) are inhibited in many places the medling any more with bookes, for feare that through error or desire of lucre, they might doe them preiudice. Neither is it lawfull in *Italy* to carry bookes about from one place to another, without allowance of them from the Inquisitor, or search by their authorities, wherein as I confesse, they have neglected nothing which the wit of man in this kinde could possibly devise. So yet it may be doubted, that as too much wiping doth in the end draw blood with it, & soile more then before; so these too rigorous cutting off of all Authors tongues, leaving nothing which may favour any freedome of spirit, or give any satisfaction for vnderstanding times past, may raise such a longing for the right Authors in the mindes of all men, as may encourage the Protestants to reprint them

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in their first intirenesse, having hope given to vent them, although in secret. These have I observed for the complots and practises of the Roman Church and Papacy, not doubting but that they may have many more, and much finer then I can dreame of: & yet in the surveying of these altogether, me thinks they are such, that it causeth mee in generality of good desire to wish, that eyther the cause which they strive to maintain, were better, or their pollicies whereby they maintaine it, were not so good.

37 Now to take a view of the present state of the Papacie, or rather of some points therein more requisite to be knowne: First, to consider it in his owne proper and peculiar Dominions, namely, in the Seigniories and Territories which the Pope holds in *Italy*, (for as for *Avignon* with his Countie *Venaisiue* in *France*, by reason of the ill neighborhood of the Protestants of *Grange*, it hath yeelded him (I weene) in these latter times no great matter) yea, rather it hath beene an overcharge vnto him: for which cause, they like well to be vnder the Pope, as bringing more vnto them, then he taketh from them. I take it at this day, of the foure great States of *Italy*, (by reason of the accesse of the Dukedome of Ferrara, escheated to him of late) to be clearely the third at least, and to surmount the great Dukes, which it hath well-nie surrounded also, yea, question might be made concerning the second place. For although the *Venetians* in amplitude of Territories farre, and in greatnesse of reuenues not alittle exceed it: yet (besides other difficulties and charges of necessity, to which they are more subiect) in militarie force they greatly come short, the popes men retaining still the brave hearts of their ancestors, and breeding among them plentie of able leaders, whereof at this present, both the great Duke and *Venetians*, doe serve themselves, whereas the *Lumbards*, wherein is the scumme of the states of *Venice*, are as heavy and vnwarlike, as their soile is deepe and fat: in so much, that the *Venetians* are driven to seeke abroad, and

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especially to the Grecians, from whom they are to have at all times, ten thousand at call. But on the contrarie side, being to be alleaged, that the *Venetians* are by sea puissant, where the Pope can doe nothing, I suppose they may still hold the second place of greatnesse. The first even in *Italy* without other respects, being incomparable due to the Spanish mightinesse; and this in possession: Besides which, all *Italy* holding, partly of the Pope partly of the Emperre, (save the Citie of *Venice*, who acknowledge no Lord) of the Pope the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Cicile*, with their dependants, the Dukedomes of *Parma*, *Valencia*, & *Urbino*, besides other lesse quillerts of these. The Dutchy of *Urbino* no great thing, but full of goodly men, and of some 100000. crownes renewes, is in great probability to devolve to the church ere long, the Duke being in years, and without heire, though as now vnmarried, by his olde wiues decease of late. But the Iesuites labour hard that he so remane, perswading him that *Bigamy* is not so acceptable an estate to God. Heere is also possibilities of the cheating of *Parma* and *Placentia*, there being but the young Duke, who remaineth still vnmarried, being withstood, as it is thought, in his long love to *Florence*, both by *Spaine* of old, and now by the Pope, (also besides, the great Duke is not hastie to forgoe his Nieces portion) and the Cardinall *Furnessy* his brother, who in that case I beleeve, should finde as difficult a suit at *Rome* for dispensation to marrie, as the Duke of *Farava* did before him, for a transport of his tenure. Of *Naples* I can say nothing, eyther for probability or possibility, as things now stand, onely it is apparant that the Popes have a verie great desire vnto it, and opinion of good title also even in present; but the vnfortunate successe and fearefull example of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* doth feare them, who of a simple Friar, being aduanced to the Papacy, by the favour of *Spaine*, whom of long he had served, fore-seeing very plainly the inevitable bondage, which together with all *Italy*, the very

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Apostolique Sea, and Ladie Church did grow into, perceiving their irreligion in encroachments vpon their Church-rights, their tyrannous importuning him to serve their turne and humours, their brayadoes, threats, insolencies, and lording over him. When his eyes did see this daily, and could not remedie it otherwise, being constrained by these imminent dangers and present indignities, hee durst harbour in his minde the afflicted forsaken thoughts of *Paulus Quartus* his predecessor, and imbrace a designe of chasing the Spaniards out of *Italy*, and especially of recovering the Realm of *Naples* to the Church, which hath now but a quit-rent, of foure thousand crownes out of it, being one of the richest places that is in the world. For the effecting of which purpose, by enhaunsing his imposts vpon all commodities, after the example of the other Princes and States, his neighbours, and by other deuises together, with good managing in short time, he raised five millions of treasure, a good ground of warre. And moreover, after the example of the same *Paulus Quartus*, who brought into *Rome* it selfe, two thousand Almanes *Lutherans*, to oppose against the Duke of *Alva*, King *Philips* Generall in *Italy*, yea, and was content to indure quietly those abuses and despites which they daily offered to his Images and Sacraments, and sundry other deuotions, as remained in a report of credit not to be excepted against. So this *Sixtus* began covertly to seeke strength from the Protestants, propounding to fauour this French Kings labours, yea and desiring to entertaine good correspondency with *England*, conuening her Maesties government above all Princes in the world; by which neglect hee drew vpon him so great offence of the Spanish partie, and especially of the Iesuites, from whom also as being too rich; for vovues of povertie hee tooke at one clappe above 20000. crownes rent, and bestowed vpon Saint *Peter*, as I have heard reported; as they have stiled him an *Avarist*, that the diuell, with whom hee had intelligence, came and fetched

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him away, being in truth, one of the worthiest Popes this age hath seene. The vnprosperous events of these high indures, and his precipitated ruine, who dared to advance them, having beene poisoned by Spanish practise, as the wisest there say (and whilst my selfe was in *Italy*, a Priest, one of the Popes subiects, reported in secret, that there was lately a supplication putte vp to his Holinesse, by a person vnknowne, craving absolution at his handes, for making away of a Pope, which was thought could bee no other then this *Sixtus*,) dooth terrifie them that come after from venturing themselves in the like, and for imitating his actions, whose end they have cause to tremble at.

So *Naples* remaineth not in his view that hath most right to it, but in his hands and armes that is strongest to hold it. And this for the Popes temporall state, which may perhappes yeeld him now neere two millions of yearly renewes, by reason of the great increase *Ferrara* hath brought, and be able to make at home for their owne defence, some hundred thousand fighting men, or thereabouts, if neede were.

Besides which rent arising at home at his owne state, that which he sucketh out of forraigne partes is not small even at this day, though nothing perhappes in comparison of those former rich times, when mony came in daily so flush from all quarters, that there temporality, (which now they make their principall) was then but an accessary addition to their greatnesse. For among other blowes which *Luther* hath given that See, it hath compelled them, besides the intire losse in Countries revolted, even out of those which sticke to them, to draw more moderately then before, for feare of offending: yea, they have beene also in these latter times, forced to share, or yeelde vppe into the hands of great Princes (of *France* namely, and *Spain*, for the better assuring them), a great part of those fleeces, which themselves were wont

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to share from the Clergy heretofore, without any part-ners: howbeit in *Italy* and some other places, their an-nuities and tenths, doe still runne currant, (besides the Spogly, as they terme them, or strippings which they have of Clergy men at their deaths, vnlesse in their life-time, by some yerely pension they list to redeeme) and amount (no doubt) to a good round summe. His gaine out of *Spaine* is thought matchable very neere to that of *Italy*, which the Kings thereof doe and will more contentedly endure, for the better assuring of the Papacy vnto them, which otherwise were likely to run mainly with *France*; I would not report it, but that I have it frō me good of place, that *Pius Quintus*, vnder pretences (after the Councell of *Trente*) of reforming their Clergy and such like affaires, was complained on to the Counsell of *Spaine*, to have drawne fourteene millions from them out of the King-dome. what gaines their pardons bring, I cannot esti-mate, they being not solde now to particular persons after their former vsage, saving in *Spaine* and the appurtenances to them, whereof also the late King himselfe was said to have the greater share and in regard thereof, to have pres-sed it mightily vpon his people. It is to be presumed, that such a multitude of generall, perpetuall, and plenary indul-gences, for all persons, times and offences, as are granted to the religious houses, and to some other Churches of *Italy*, and to sundry in *France* also, yeld somewhat to the holy father, in way of thankful acknowledgment, considering that their gaine by them is nothing.

The Cordeliers at *Orleanse*, at the publishing of one indulgence, picked vppe (as they say there) foure thou-sand at a blow. But howsoever the mistrie of that secret standes, this is plaine and apparant; that the Po-pes are contented to vse their religious houses, as verie sponges, to drinke what iuyce they can from the people, that afterwarde, hee may wring them out, one by one into his own cesterne. The Covents have from
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him these indulgences of grace to remitte sinnes, and free soules from Purgatory: at the yerely publishing whereof in their Churches, there stands in some convenient place, the boxe of devotion, with some poore begging crucifixe likely before it, and two tapers of each side to see the churke to put mony in. What man can be so vnthankfull, so stony, and dry-hearted, as to give nothing to them, who have forgiven him so much, especially, there neuer being wanting some holy pretence to incourage, nor many an eye open to see their good doing;

Besides this, the Pilgramages to their miraculous imager, which drew great commodities to their Cities also & states, wherein the people not ignorant thereof, helpe to set them a working: a consideration that brings contentment therewith no lesse to the Princes. So sweete is the taste of gaine from whatsoeuer, the visiting of their holy reliques, (both which haue their offerings) the purchasing of masses, both auxiliatory & expiatory, their rewards for praying, their collections for preachings, besides sundry other duties, amongst which their obits, which are so beneficiall, that their account is from a rich man, to draw *viij* *modis*, some hundred at his funerall, or else it goeth hard: yea, this is so certaine, and so good a rent vnto them, that if any man should be buried without their solemnitie, and some of their odors to accompany his corpse, he should be thought a very hereticke, and to be sure to haue some bad bruite set abroad concerning him; as fell out not long since to a welthie Citizen of *Lucca* who willed by his testament, to be buried in the night, without their ringing, tapering, censing, attending, or singing, hadde a rumour some spread on him by the belly-devote Friars, whom hunger and losse of hope, haue made wickedly irefull, that he was haunted and molested with raues on his death bedde: these meanes extraordinarie, besides these ordinarie reuerences, intreating often by rhetoricke, and discarding vpon them, which happen to any

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any of their brotherhoods, goeth (to the convent for ever: such is the law of *Italy*) being granted or permitted by the Pope to the Friars, and all to enrich them. The law requires, reason and equitie allowes, and their vowes of povertie adviſeth, that when they grow too rich his Holineſſe ſhould let them blood in their over-full veines, for his neceſſarie ſuſtenance, as did *Sixtus*, who pared away the ſuperfluities of ſundry rich Covents, as fitter for his high eſtate and honourable deſignes, then for them, who had poverty in their vowed recommendations: This Pope dealeth more gently by way of loanes, which may perhaps in the end come all to one reckoning. Beſides the which, when warre againſt the Turkes, or Heretiques, or other enemies of the Church, or any other great affaires requires imployment of the Church treaſure, then are taxes and ſubſidies impoſed, or requested to a certaine proportion, vpon the renewes of all Abbeyes, and other religious Covents in *Italy*, beſides the reſt of the Cleargie, which can be no ſmall matter, as was done theſe laſt yeares for the ſervice of *Hungarie*. I might adde hereunto the toll of his forreine commodities, the fees of diſpenſations, chiefly in prohibited degrees for marriage, and infinite other expeditions, wherein his Papal authority doth accommodate, & is accommodated reciprocally of all Nations; but this is ſufficient to verifie that aſſertion, that eve at this day thoſe out-incoms are good helps for an extraordinary odd ſhare when need is. And yet all this notwithstanding, the treaſure of the Church is ſmal. *Sixtus Quintus* left five millions by his great reckonings & huſbandry: his ſucceſſor *Gregory* the 14. waſted foure of the ten months & leſſe, above his ordinary renewes, in pompe & riot. This man is very chary over that one remaining, & diſſipleth all other devices, rather then ſet finger to that ſtring. which yet his late Proweſſes have cauſed him to aſſay. But were the Church rent and gaine how huge ſoever; two aſſiduall Horſeleaches which never leave ſucking it, will

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never suffer it to swell over-great in treasure. The first is the high place of honour, which hee taketh farre above all other Princes and Monarchs in the worlde, which draweth him to inestimable charge in all places, to carrie it with countenance and comelinesse requisite; being forced thereby in his owne traine, in the intertainment he giveth Princes, in the allowance he giveth his Legates, Nuncios, and other Ministers, which according to his owne greatness are sent into other Countries, and lastly, in furnishing out the multitude of his actions and practises over the world, do raise his charge; for the most part, according to the proportion of his high estate (for Honour and Frugality, are the vsfittest companions that can be). It is Liberality and Expence, that both breeds and maintaines honour; neither can a iudiciall man perhappes with worse to his enemy, than to have an honorable calling, and a poore living.

Another thing which keepeth the Papacie alwaies so bare, yea, and makes their temporall state the worse, governed in *Italie* (for so it is counted) is their often change of Popes, by reason of their yeares, the infinite desire each hath to advance his kindred, his children first: if hee have any, as *Paulus* the third, who left his base issue no lesse than Dukes of *Placentia*, and *Parma*: *Gegorius* the thirteenth more lately, who made his base sonne Duke of *Sora*, and *Castellane*, of *Saint Angelo*. And if they have no children, or list not bee knowne of them, then their Nephewes and other kinsmen, which is common to them all: yea, it oft falleth out, that those Popes, who have not any knowne children of their owne, by extending of their love larger to a great multitude of their Nephewes, yet desiring for their owne renowne, and perpetuating of their owne name, to raise them to a great estate and wealth as they can possibly) do consume more the goods and treasure of the Church, than those other, who have their loves though stronger, yet to fewer, as was apparant in the two *Grega-*

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ries, the thirteenth, with his few sonnes, and the fourteenth with the multitude of his Nephewes and Kinsmen : and these men being raised often from the bottom of basenesse to the height of pride and power, having no hold in their hand, nor scantling of their fortunes, as having never been in middle state, which is the measure of both extremities, do fall into riot, able to ruine a Prince, and rage and ravine in their Offices and Government, as they that knowing their time short, meane to vie it to the full prooffe. The examples of both are many, and fresh, which for their foulness and basenesse, I list not to repeat, for which cause it was a good helpe, to *Sixtus Quintus* to be Pope, that he had small kinned, though the ground is mooveable, seeing pedegrees change (for the most part) together with mens fortune, which as a conscionable Arbitrator, neither annoyes the poore ever with multitude of kinsmen, nor discomforts the rich with paucitie.

39 For the state of the Cleargie vnder the Papacie, it varies as the Countries. In *Spayne* the Prelates are exceeding rich in reuenues. The Archbishoppricke of *Toledo*, not inferiour to some Kingdomes; in *Italy* the livings of Prelates are competent, considering the excessive multitude; yet with so great diversities, as some meere Bishoppricks are about two thousand Crowns rent; and other some under a thousand Crowns. But the custome of *Italy* which auoydeth, yea, and blameth multitude of Seruants, and great house-keepings in all sortes and degrees, makes a small matter sufficient, and a great superfluous. Besides, there to have many livings, is a matter of credue, and not of profit onely, though as wise men as they have thought otherwise of it, to be a private great burthen, and a publique great mischief. The Parish Priests in *Italy*, who have nor the Tenth, which in a Countrey, whose soyle yeeldeth three harvestes in sundrie places, all in one yeare, would amount to an huge matter; and considering the great

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rents and rackes would be vsupportable, but have in stead of them certaine farmes as gleabe land appropriate, and some certaine small quantitie out of the increase of their neighbours, are so provided for, that the meanest lightly which are their Curates, have a hundred crownes a yeare, and the *Pionari* which are Priests of mother Churches from two hundred, to five hundred & vpwards sometimes, which they help out with masses as occasion seruet, which are still in *Italy* as cheape as a goat. In *Germany* the Prelates are lightly great Princes, and great Nobilitie is required to have those places. In *France* the Cleargie hath beene in fore-times most flourishing, their reueneue amounting when land and all things were cheapest, to sixe millions in the whole, besides their great place in the state, and ample iurisdiccions in their precincts: at this day they are fallen generally, especially the inferiour parts into great miserie, and beggery, accompanied with all base and wilde conditions, whereby the common people is growne vtterly also without knowledge of God, or sense of religion, being fallē into those termes, that plenty which should make men thankfull, maketh them wanton, & affliction which should make men repentant, makes them desperate, and nothing can better than. The whole Realme, in summe, hath beene scourged with a three stringed whip, *Warre, ill Government, & Injustice*, whereof the two latter are likely to last still, whiles on the one side, the places of Iustice are sold, as by the Drum on the other side. The Church Prelacies, and other governments of soales, are made the fees and charges of their Courtiers, and soldiers, whose merits would have rewards, but suring to their qualites, which in such a realme as that, could not want, but for want of indifferencie, and measure, heaping all vpon a few, and most, where are lesse deserts: whereas these so vnfit and ill fitted recompences, dissemper that harmony which should be in a flourishing state, and fill the land with all kinde of corruption, and confusion.

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40 But to returne to the Papacie, or rather to the Pope himselfe, and first to his election, the right whereof having beene of olde in the Cleargie and people, and from thence transferred to the Emperours nomination, is now wholly remitted to the colledge of Cardinales, so that two third partes of their voyces that are present are requisite to him, that eyther by adoration or scrutenie shall cary it away which double proportion of voyces to agree, maketh this election of greater difficultie, and giveth occasion of rarer devises in it, than I suppose are to be found in other partes of the world. I have heard that in these latter times a Cardinall of *Sicilie*, whose holines and learning advaunced him to that dignitie; (for of some, such alwaies there is care to make choise for divers considerations) entring the Conclave to an election, and expecting that by incessant prayer as in times of olde, some divine inspiration should have pointed out Christs vicar, But finding when he was there, nothing but practising, and canvassing, promising, & terrifying, banding, and combining, setting some vp for stalles, onelie to ease passage for others, who were reserved vnto the last course, when other mens hopes and angers being spent and evaporated, had abated the prime edge & strength of oppositions; In summe, being himselfe also assaulted by all meanes, yea tugged and haled now by one party, now by another; the good man agast, as in a matter cleane contrary to his fore-framed expectation. *Ad hunc modum* (said he) *sum Pontifex Romanus*. Therewithall, so soone as the Conclave was broken vp he retired to his country, and neuer saw Rome againe. But the matter of greatest marke herein at this day, is the power of the K. of *Spain* in swaying those Elections, who by pensions, by perferments, by hopes of the highest, hath assured a near third part of the Cardinales to him. And to be alwaies at his devotions in all Elections, whereby having the exclusive (as they terme it) no Pope can be made but with his liking. He proceeds on by his Ambassadors to name also some five or six vnto them,

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whereof please they but to choosse any, he shall rest wel satisfied: which course though it mightily distaste the rest of the Cardinalls, who are hereby for ever debased from their chiefe desire, yea and inwardly much afflicted: the great states of *Italie*, who are loth to have their Pope of a *Spanish* Edition, yet there is no remedie, one of these in fine they must needs choose, the discretion they can have, is onely this, to choose such of them as is like to prove least to his purpose.

A memorable example heereof in the election of the saide *Gregorie*, where the greatest parte of the Cardinales enslaved against the King, and banding against him, yet in conclusion, after two moneths imprisonment in the Conclave, were forced to relent, and to choose one of his nomination, or otherwise a cleere case, no Election at all, which whether there were or no, made no mater to *Spaine* who stands vpon a sure ground in his exclusive obstinatenesse. The necessitie of the Church, the state of the Papacie, their owne present condition, the disorders of the citie of *Rome*, and of all their territories which in want of a Pope, and this locking vppe of the Cardinales in a cellar, doe swarve exceedingly, did maynly cry out to have some Pope or other, which at the last they yeilded to, by consenting vpon a favorite, yea a subiect of *Spaine* also, for such was that *Gregorie*, howbeit the maine matter runneth not with him so cleerely, they being not the same men that are chosen, and that are Popes. But changing with their estates both name and nature also, yea sometimes not easier to finde two diuers men of humours more different, than is the same man in his Cardinalship, and in his Papalitie, whereof no better witnesseth tharr *Sixtus Quintus*, the most crooching humble Cardinal that ever was lodged in an oven, and the most stowre resolute Pope that ever wore Crowne: in his Cardinalship, a meere vassall and slave of *Spaine*, in his Papacie, the most dangerous enemie that *Spaine* ever had in the world: in summe, who in his Cardinalship was scorned as a base Friar, in his Papacie was

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was revered as a Prince of great worth and spirite; neither is there any marvell to be made of this difference, seeing the meanes of obtaining and maintaining the Papall honour are so cleane contrarie, seeing in the one state they fashion themselves to all other mens humors, in the other, they looke all men should accommodate themselves to their honors. And lastly, seeing these Princes, whose favors are the only hopes to compasse this place, and their power quelling downe the estate. For this cause as in general the Cardinals doe, in their hearts favor *France* above *Spaine*, both as being the weaker part, and the further neighbours, & the only hope to maintaine counterpose against the others greatnes. So let the king of *Spaine* make what choice among them of a Pope he can, he shall finde that as long as these reasons continue, whosoever sits in the seate, will more respect his owne safetie, than the service of his preferors, even as doth this very Pope, who for that cause is conceived to have made some alteration of inward friendships, though holding good termes of love and loyaltie with both. But this vncertainty & mutability of the newe Popes affections doth cause both the K. of *Spaine* & other princes of *Italy*, above all other things, to aime at a man of calme nature, & not of stirring mettall, that if they cannot make any great account of his friendship, yet his naturall disposition and temper may assure them, that he shall not be a raiser of new firs in *Italy*; and diverse of them to scamble somewhat for ther own, have bin as on the other side, a speciall good inducement to the Cardinalls, in his age and sicknesse, that the place may bee soone void again; for the gaining whereof there is alwaies practising and plotting immediately vpon the Election.

41 Thus is the Pope made, who hath his councel of cardinals to attend and advise him, he chosen by them, & they created by him, whose number may amount, they say to 72 but many places are kept void still, to serve for desperate pushes: for these there are some 20. being lightly they yonger
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Sonnes of Dukes and Princes, who) in case their Ancestors states should descend vpon them, with dispensation from the Pope, may resign vpon their hats among the Cardinalls for their owne honor, and for the gratifying of the world,) are sorted out and divided al the orders of religion, & all the nations of christendome, wherof they are appointed the particular protectors in the Court of Rome, As the Protectour of *England* now is Cardinall *Caietane*, a verie stout man of Spanish faction, who hath beene Legate into *France*, and more lately into *Poland*, but now returned.

42 Now for this Pope, who is by countrey & birth, a *Florentine*, was chased from thence with his father vpon a conspiracie against *Don Cosmo*; I have little more to say, than what I have before touched, hee is reputed to bee a man of a good calme disposition, and not too crafty; yet close, and one that can hold his owne well enough, kind to his friends, & devout in his waies, & thinks without doubt, that he is in the right: he wil weepe very often (some conceive vpon a weaknesse & tendernes of minde, habituated therein by custom,) others say vpon pietie and godly compassion. At his masses, at his processions, at the fixing vp of his iubilies, his eyes are still watering, sometimes streaming with teares, insomuch, that for weeping he seemeth an other *Hercules*, to ballance with the last *Gregorie* another *Democritus* for laughing. Touching his secret life the *Italians* speake somewhat diversly, especially for his younger yeares. But mens tongues are alwaies prone to taint their governours, and the worse men speake worse, in hope to lurke themselves vnder the blemish of their betters. For my part, hearing no extraordinarie badde matter against him, but only by suspicion, I iudge the best, and howsoever, I had rather preserve the credit of a bad man, than staine or impaire it in a good. For his yeeres, hee doth not much exceed three score, but is troubled with the drop sic, and that caused (some say) accompanied with a thirstie infirmi-

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firmitie, for a Prelate he hath good comendations, an enemy to the licentious lives of the Friars, yea to the pompe also, and secular braverie of Cardinalls, howbeit more desiring reformation in both, then daring to attempt it in either, for ought as yet appeareth. Verie magnificall & ceremoniall in his outward comportment, in his private, cariage humble, as his friends say, in managing the Church temporall goodes, rather trustie than liberall, but of their spirituall treasure of *supererogatorie* workes large, bountifull in Indulgences and Pardons which they vse, not onely as charitable relieves of the needie, but as honorable giftes also to reward Princes that have presented him. In these I should thinke him verie exceeding wastful, but that where the treasure is infinite, there the spender in ordinarie estimation cannot be prodigall. For a Prince he hath beene somewhat defective heretofore, as being neither of deepe resolution, nor of great spirit. But fortunate men are wise, and conquerors are valiant. And surely this mans projects and attempts have so well prospered, what in the matter of *Ferrara*, what in working the great peace, (the honour whereof by them oft is wholie attributed to the pope, though others say he was importuned to deale in it by the Spaniard, being so tyred & waisted out with troubling his neighbours, that in fine he delighted not in any thing but in peace only,) that he hath purchased him the opinion not onely of a fortunate and wise Pope, but of one who doth sincerely affect the quiet of Christendome, & thinketh nothing remaining to the height of his glory, but to be the Author of an vniuersal league, and warre against the Turk against whom he hath sundry times given aide already, & that for that end (notwithstanding his abilitie & oportunitie, what by his excommunications, what by his ready armie to have righted himselfe yet hath he laid by his owne particular pretences, as wel against the great duke of *Tusca* for *Burgo di San Sepulcro*, which belongs to the Church, as also, and more principally against the Venetians for *Romgo*

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and the *Polissina*, which they have rent by warre, and re-
tained from *Savarna*, nor to mention that ancient quarell
touching the Patriarkship of *Aqueileia*, whose territory e-
ven all *Friuli* their state hath vsurped, that no private nor
temporall commoditie of this Church and Sea, might give
impediment to the publike good, in withstanding and re-
pressing the grand enemy of Christendom. These thoughts
surely are honorable, neither vnnessearie for his owne fu-
ture safetie, considering how neere a neighbour the Turke
is to him, and how often his state hath bin afflicted by him
and sometimes in hazard. But now for his neere neighbours
the great Duke, and the *Venetians* as their States; so their
loves and his, are but neighbourly, they thinking his grow-
ing to be their stoppe and endaungering; But the *Vene-
tians* perhaps feare him, and the great Duke hateth
him more. The *Venetians* having still painted in their
great Pallace, and dayly before their eies, the extremitie
which former Popes excommunications hath brought the
to, having their state as ill seated in regard of potent neigh-
bors, who all gaze after them vpon any advantage; as any
that I know againe in the world. The Turke confining and
bordering with them on the East; the King of *Spain* on the
West; the Emperour on the North, and the Pope on the
South; who can never want pretence, they holding that
which they list nor yeeld; besides some ialousies and dis-
cussions passed lately betweene them and the Pope and
his Cardinals. The great duke, not only for that hereditary
enmitie first, and that personall discourtesie since; & what
for effecting that title of King of *Tuscany*, where of his wife
is written Queene by some already: and having gotten as is
said the Emperors liking, the Pope denyed him in putting
him off, with a distinction, that he was content he should
be K. in *Tuscany*, but not of *Tuscany* which scholasticall
subtilties plaine suters love not, but much more care for the
correspondencie of conferetice & favor which is thought to
be betweene the Pope, and these popular *Florentines*; who
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disaffected with their home government, once free, now almost servile, live elsewhere abroad, and at *Rome* in exceeding store, specially seeing not only the Pope in the faction of his particular family, but all popes in the affection which the Papacy both engender, do naturally more desire that their neighbours states should be popular, as having the ground of their greatnesse in swaying the multitude. But generally the Duke of *Tuscane* will be alwaies regardfull to hold the best correspondency with the Popes that may be, as having their state very often to assault on that side, the rest being surrounded by the *Appennine* and the *Sea*. To conclude, this Pope, where there is no private cause of disfavoring his person, or disallowing his place, carrieth the name of a good Pope, and they which do subtilly see the points of goodnesse, more then curiously, will say, that *Pius Quintus* was a good Prelate, but no good Prince, that *Sixtus Quintus* was a good Prince, but no good Prelate. *Gregorie* the 13. a good Prince and Prelate, but no good man, this Pope, both good man, good Prince, and good Prelate, and so I leave him (wishing his daily encrease in all parts of true goodnesse, whereof his Church hath too little) and himselfe happily (as other good men) nothing too much: returning to the Papacy.

43 The next point which commeth to be considered, is, what power it is at this day in this world, by reason of those nations, which either in whole or greater part still adhere vnto it, which are *Italy* with his Islands, *Spaine* with his *Indies*, *Germany* with his skirts, which I count the 17 provinces of the Low countries, on the one side, the 13 Cantons of *Switzers*, and 3 leagues of *Grisons* on an other, and *Bohemia* with his Marquisate of *Moravia* & *Slesia* on the third. And lastly, the great united, well seated, fruitfull, populous Kingdomes of *France*, with his neighbours of *Lorraine* and *Savoy*, whom though Princes of the Empyre, whensoever themselves list, and finde it for their profit, yet in regarde of their greater affinitie to *France*, both in

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language and fashion (which associate also affections) I annexe vnto it, of all which, some brieft seemeth necessary to be taken. For as for *Poland* and *Transilvania*, with *Valachia*, and the remaines of *Hungary*, by reason of their neere and dangerous confining with the Turke, together with the multitude of Religions, which are swarming in them, (in *Poland* especially, of which it is said by way of bi-word, That if a man hath lost his Religion, let him to go seek it in *Poland*, and he shall be sure to find it, or else make account that it is vanished out of the world,) ther is no great reckoning to bee made of their force eyther way. Then *England*, with the more North Kingdomes, *Scotland*, *Denmarke*, and *Sweden*, (whose King notwithstanding is of the *Roman* faith now, but hath few there that followe him,) They are accounted to have wholly cast off the Papacy: for albeit they make reckoning of many fauourers in them, as of foure thousand sure Catholicks in *England*, with foure hundred English Roman Priests, to maintaine that *vulgar*, who vpon quarrel with the Iesuites, affectors of superiority, & disgracers of all that refuse to depend vpon them, have instantly demaunded of late, a Bishop of the Pope to be cosen by them, and to be resident among them: yet this is so small a portion, being compared with the whole, as not to bee esteemed, especially seeing in *Italy* counted wholly theirs, there are full foure thousand professed Protestantes, that haue exercise of their Religion also in the valleies of *Piment*, and *Salust*, besides sundrie Gentlemen who liue abroad, and resort to them. In *Lucca* also a great part are thought favorites of the reformation: some of that sort there are scattered in all places, especially in *Venice*. But their paucity and obscurity shall enclose them in a Cipher: so that *Italy* wee will account it to stand wholly for the Papacie, though the Princes, and other free States thereof, little like the Popes enlarging his temperall Dominion at home, being alreadie of a large size in proportion with theirs.

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theirs. and especially for those pretences, which his Sea neuer wants, and those extraordinarie advantages with concurrence of his spirituall supremacy, doe giue him by interdictions, excommunications, discharging othes of obedience, which above all other they have greatest cause to feare, both in regard of their huge company of Priests, Prelates, and Friars, wherewith hee hath fortified himselfe mightily in their States; As also, for that discontent which their cruell impositions, extortions, and oppressions have bred in their owne subiects, who wish rather, that all *Italy* were reduced into the hands of some one naturall potentate, whose greedinesse, how great soever, they were able to satisfie, And of the Popes above all men, who promiseth much lenitie by his late example at *Ferrara*, where he remitted many imposts which the late Dukes had raised, than to be thus daily racked and devoured by so many pettie Tyrants, as it were with their prowling Gabillieres, whose ambitions and emulations, whose prides and pleasures, thirteene millions of yeerely renew vvhich *Italy* now yeeldeth them, is not able to satisfie; though I say for these causes the Princes and States of *Italy* no way favour the Popes strength in his temporality at home, considering vvithall, vvhat swelling and turbulent spirits mount sometimes into that Chaire, have purposely set *Italy* on a flaming, for that in the sacking of many, themselves might get somewhat for the advancing of such as nature and bloud did cause them to love best; yet on the contrarie side, for his spirituall power and soveraigntie abroad, they vvish it vvheld and restored (if it vvere possible) both for the honour of their nation (which is thereby their triumphant Queene of the world) and much more for the commoditie, which by vicinitie they and theirs reape thence in more abundance than all other together, vvhat by sharings, as occasion serveth, in his booties abroad, vvhat by being alwaies in sight to receiue favours at home, vvhat by that vvhich sticketh

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kept to them in very passing thorow their Territories.

Then to exclude any innovation, the care of their owne safetie, and not quiet alone, perswades them, it being dangerous in a body so full of diseases and discontented humors to change, or stir any thing, seeing all alteration sets humors on working, & one humor on foot, quickneth vp all other, what allured by Sympathie, what by Antipathie provoked, the end thereof is, eyther the dissolving of Nature by length of conflictes, or the disburthening of Nature, by expelling that which before did oppresse it. For this cause no audience to be given to the reformation, as enemie to their peace, which is the Nurse of their riches, and sole Anchor to their safetie. For it were but simplicity to thinke that conscience and love of truth did sway the deliberation, the World haying in most places done Religion this honour, as to remoove it out of those secret darke Cabinets of the heart, where the ieaiousie of some devout dreames of the Gardens of Paradise had imprisoned it, and aduanced it vnto the fairest sight and shew of the whole world, even so to make a maske of it, or rather, a very vizar, with mouth, eyes, and nose, very fairely painted and proportioned to all pretenses and purposes. And others yet of more gallant and free spirit, have given it generall passage, to goe whither it selfe listeth, so that it come not neere them: It doth much grieve mee to speake, yea the very thought of it must needs bring horrour and detestation, what a huge multitude of Atheistes doe brave it in all places, and there most, where the Papacie is most in his prime: What renouncers of God, blasphemers of his onely begotten Sonne, vilanisers of his Saints, and scorers of his service, who doe thinke it a glorious grace to adore a King of a Countrey; But to name or to thinke reverently of the Creator of the World, to proceede from a timorous base-mindednesse, and abiectnesse. Of so deepe reach and iudgement, are these pedlers in their proportions, who doe know no other Magistrates, but those

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those of their parishes. These men are favourable alike to all Religions, but can best endure that wherein they are least checkt, and may range with most impunity.

But for the Souldiary of this age, a profession and an exercise, reputed in olde time for an onely Schoole of Vertue, but now defamed with all manner of vice and villanie: in olde time such, That the wisest Philosophers thought it reason sufficient, why the *Lacedemonians* were more vertuous than other Nations, because they followed the warres, (at this day a cause of cleane contrarie effect) those desperate Atheisines, those Spanish renouncings, and Italian blasphemings, have now so prevayled in our Christian Cumpes, that if any restraine them, hee shall bee vpbraid as no souldiour, nor gallant-minded man, that the verie Turkes have the Christians blaspheming of Christ in execration, and will punish their prisoners forcibly, whenas through impatience or desperatenesse they burst into them. Yea the Jewes in their speculations of the causes of the strange successes of the affaires of the worlde, assigne the reason of the Turkes prevailing so against the Christians, to bee their blasphemies and blasphemous oaths, which wound the eares of the verie heavens, and cry vnto the high Throane of Iustice for speedie vengeance. As for Princes and great persons, it is a rare thing, and surelie an happie, wheresoever it falleth out of them, that any of them hath any extraordinarie store of religiousnesse of any sort. Their example (I doe speake of many of them) which might bee the soveraigne restorers of vertue, & reestablishers of a happy world, with the endles blisse of many millions, now perishing through their default, is at this day the only ruine and despaire of goodnesse, having forgotten whose Lievetenants they are in the world, for what end they are placed, for what cause they are honoured; and most of all, what great account they have to passe at the last Audit, when their favorites and fancie-feeding flatterers shall all shrinke from them,

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them, and nothing but their owne deedes and desertes accompanie them. But all of these, whether Atheistes in opinion or conversation (betweene whome is small choice) being reckoned or let passe to make vp the number; yet holde I that from *Italie* there are more wishes thā other helps; to maintaine the Papacie abroad, by reason of the partition of it in such a multitude of States, where the greater do nothing but Lymbick their braines in the arte of Alchumie, & ballancing, to inrich themselves: by the one, drawing golde out of all things, and by the other, to poyse their neighbors, & to keep them of equal weight, their adding some helpe with their hand where the scales are lighter, & the lesser States fly most to the protection of the chiefe, as the citties of *Genovay* and *Luca*, the duke of *Urbino*, the seignior of *Prombino*, with certaine other, who all recognizing the king of *Spaine* for their Patron, as casting by him to bee sufficiently secure from the encroachments of those other three. And counting that from him the vnited consent of all the rest, will still preserve them to whome his greatnesse is searefull, and his growing would bee pernicious. There have beene of them also, as the last Duke of *Ferrara*, who hath entertained both amitie and straight intelligence, with sundry of the Protestant Princes of *Germanie*, vpon purpose to holde their neighbours, and especially the Pope in, and off calling the Protestants to their succour, if they should either asfaile, or otherwise provoke them. And thus much for *Italy*.

44 The next is *Spaine*, reputed wholly the Popes also, as having beene long time governed by the most devoted King, and longer curbed by the most cruell Inquisition that ever the world had, for the vpholding of that way, howbeit the State of *Spaine* is not to bee passed so lightly over, wherein (although my selfe have never beene) yet by manifolde inquiry and information from some

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some of their owne and others, who have beene in it, men of knowledge and credite. Thus much doe I conceive as touching the state of their religion : that of a Nation that aimeth so apparantly at the Monarchy of the whole west, it is at this day none of the most puissant to atchieve the same, their Country being so generally exhaust of men, what eaten vp by long warre, what transported into their huge number of *Indian* Collonies, that their Cities remaine now wholly peopled with women, having some old men among them, and many young children, whereof the grave attends the one, and forraigne service the other: a fit state for an *Amasonian* Empire to bee revived in. So likewise for a Kingdome that hath the surname of *Catholike*, none in greater danger in the world, either wholly, or in great part, to cast off Christianitie, vnlesse grace from above, and better wisdom doe stay the increase of those pestilent rankes of *Mahometisme*, and *Indaisme*, which threaten the finall decay and eating out of *Christianisme*. And to carrie this matter with an indifferent course of repose, neither aggravating so much as some doe in their doubts & ielousies, nor yet extenuating it so much as othersome in their confidence and iollitie, seeing feare casteth beyond lightly, and hope short of the verie danger.

There is in *Spaine* a sort of people of the *Maurani*, (as they terme them) who are baptised *Iewes* and *Moores*: and many of them in secret, with all circumcised Christians, who are spread over the whole land, but swarme most in the South parts confining with *Affrica*, and are in such store, as in many places (as some say) they exceede the true Christians by no small proportion. For as for the Inquisition, which was instituted of purpose against those mungrell Christians, some hundred yeares sithence, at what time King *Ferdinande*, by chasing the *Iewes* and *Moores*, and *Arabians*, out of the Realmes of *Spaine*, merited the name of King Catholike: great numbers of

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them chose rather to make change of their religion in shew, then of their Country in deede, and consented to receive baptisme, which in secret they polluted, or denounced by circumcision, or other superstitions, wherein the Arabians and Moores concurred with the Iewes, and so continued with a false face and double hart, and have transmitted both the one, and the other to their offspring to this very day. This Inquisition being first brought in to chastise these miscreants, and received in *Aragon*, (a freer State then the rest) for terme of eighty yeares: (besides that, it is theirs in right, long since expired & holdeth only by title of the Kings pleasure and possession: And the Portugalles have now againe renewed their old suite, together with their old offer of eighty thousand crownes, to buy it out in their Countries for their persons, which it is thought this yong King hath meaning to accept) the eye and edge of it hath been so wholly of late times convetted to the rooting out of their formed religion in all places that the other sort by neglecting them, have growne in strength, and by their strength now beginne to dispise their chastisers, whom feare (they say) inforceth often to winke at many things, which no eye open but needs must see. Thus fareth it with gardens wherein greater care is taken to pull vp the suspected hearbes, then to kepe downe the apparant weedes: what further hopes this sect may have I know nor. This is cleere, that a great part of the Spanish Nobility is mixed at this day with lewisch blood; they which say least and speake fauourably for the honor of *Spaine*, will say, their are of them a hundred thousand families, in which at the least are a hundred thousand men able to beare armes. All which though conforming themselves in some sort and outward shewe to the Christian religion, yet are thought in heart to be vtterly aduerse from it, and to retaine an inward desire to returne to that superstition from which their auncestors by rigor and terror were departed.

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And the Jewes will say in *Italy*, that there come divers *Spaniards* to them to be circuncised there, and so away to *Constantinople*: to plant in the East. The State of *Spainne* is in often feare of those mens rebelling, and specially that they would ioyne with any enermies that would invade them. For although they are forbidden to have any armes, and yearly search made for it over all *Spainne*, in an vnknowne and least suspected instant, yet is there no doubt but armed they are, and have their secret caves and devises to conceale them. This sort continually growing by living quietly at home, and the other part decaying daily by forraigne imployment, what the issue may be, though reason may probably coniecture, yet time onely and prooffe can give assurance, by marrying of their younger brethren with the Jewes, for wealthes sake, vpon whom in time, the elder failing, the honour and howse hath descended. But to leave these *Maurani*, another pestilent sect there was not long since, of *Illuminati* in *Aragon*, whose founders were a hypocriticall crew of their Priests, who affecting in themselves and their followers, a certain angelicall purity fell sodainely to the very counterpoint of iustifying bestialtie. But these men and their light are quenched some while since. The last and obscurest sort, are the poore persecuted Protestants, against whom, all lawes, and wits, all fortunes are strongly bent: all which notwithstanding, there are thought to be no fewer then twentie thousand in *Ciuit* it selfe, who in heart are that way: amongst whom, certaine bookes of their religion being secretly dispearsed, the Inquisitors for their number sake, who were to be touched, were required to forbear, and to provide some other way. In summe, I have heard some of their owne Countrey and religion acknowledge, that among other things, the scandals of their Cleargie, and Friars, especially in forging miracles in their spirits and images, doth draw the people to loathing and suspition of their way. And were it not for the Inquisition, it is thought generally

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they would fall away, and turne Protestants in short time. They have in *Spaine* (as is told me) a Crucifixe, whose haire and nailes fall agrowing now in this old age, as in a dead man executed, the rest not stirring: at which, the devout men of the Clergie girke vp their eyes, and the wiser of the laitie wagge easily their heads. The holy Nunne of *Portugal*, of whome the Spaniards taken prisoners in 1588. made so much talking of, who had the five wounds bleeding on her, and the print of the crucifixe in the skippe of her breast, to whom that invincible Army repaired for benediction to set forward their victorie, is lately discovered and condemned for a Sorceresse; by a generall complaint of that whole sisterhood, who hating her for her arrogancy, and watching her fingers, in fine, discovered, that the one was but a forced rawnesse of the flesh, caused by fretting hearbes and waters, when she went to shew her selfe; and the other came by a continuall binding of a little graven crucifixe to that part which was so printed. The famous Lady *Guadalupa*, who transporteth through the ayre such prisoners in *Africa* as vow themselves to her, is said by some to have her credite impaired; by occasion of a fugitive servant, who being runne from his Maister, was suborned by the Friars to play that flying part, complaining that our Lady for the wickednesse of this age, did restraine those graces, but yet that it was a godly act to maintaine men in their devotions. In fine, he was disclosed and seised on by his Maister. But this is more certaine and of more generall report, that for the weeping and sweeting of their images, they have had a tricke in all places to boare holes behinde them, and put to them the new cut sprigges of a vine, which being of a bleeding nature, and dropping easily thorow the thinne plaister, remaining unpierced, make shew of teares or sweate, as they list; yea, some of their Italian Friars have confessed withall, that their fashion is when their Gimmalls are all in tune, for a miracle to enioyne some seely old woman in her confessions, to say her devo-

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devotions before the Altar, where the Image prepared to play a miracle doth stand, abusing the weaknesse of her sexe and age, to report that confidently which her pronnes to thinke our Ladie might extraordinarily love her, made her easily beleewe. Wise Gentlemen that have been at the exorcising of spirits, have observed plaine arguments of intelligence betweene the parties as in actors of Enterlude, though this should away: and so were heard to avouch the multitude of the *Indemoniati* in *Italy*, (whereof most are women) being so huge, even as of witches in *Savoy*, of which some are daily cured in shew by their *Exorcismes*: but for one that is helped, twentie is eyther past their curing, or otherwise, as in counterfaits vnwilling to be cured. In summe, the falshoods in all these kindes are growne so so ordinarie and palpable to themselves, that some of their better Prelates have caused an Image of our Ladie to be taken away off his place, vpon the broaching of a report, that it discovered it selfe for a wonder-worker. So vnflattery is the foode of fooles, to the taste of wise men; and such is Gods curse vpon all forgery and falshood, as in the end, to overthrow that which chooseth it for his foundation, as hath happened already in some places: and may with time in other.

45 Touch *Germanie*, I have seene an olde estimate of it by such as fauoured the Papacy, that in the beginning of *Ferdinand*, there was not past one twelfth part remayning Catholicke, which now in my vnderstanding must needs bee otherwise. For comprehending in it *Bohemia* with his appurtenances, I should thinke that neere a sixt part vvere devoted that way, their number beeing increased, and perhaps doubled since that time, by the sedulitie of many of the Prelates and other great Princes. The Dukes of *Bavaria*, who vsing the advantage of the *Interim* on their part, have forced those Protestantes which vvere in their States to quitt, eyther Religion or goods and Countrey.

Germany.

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The same hath beene attempted by the Arch Duke of *Austria*, and in some places, as in their Country of *Firroll* effected. But in *Austria* it selfe not so, wherein the number of Protestants exceeds and is fearefull to their opposites, though the publike exercies of their religion is restrained in some of the chiefe Cities, as in *vienna*; but the most part of the country are of it, so are halfe the nobility. The Duke of *Cleves* a third Prince, affected the same way, hath shewed himselfe a little more moderate then some other, so advised by neighbourhood. The free Cities which are of very great number and strength, have all (save some very few) freedde themselves from the Pope either in whole, or in greater part: the State of the Empire for that point, containing in it a very huge circuite of territories, full of mighty Princes, and well fortified cities: that if it were more strictly vnited vnder one Monarchie, and not rent into factions with diversity of religions, breeding endlesse ielosies, hart burnings, and hatreds, it needes not other helpe to affront the great Turke, and to repulse his forces to the security of Christendome.

But in this so vnequall proportion of adherents to the Papacie, two things there are which gives them hope of better, if prosperous successe doe second their well contrived projects. The one is the creating the Emperour alwaies of their owne party, whereof they assure themselves by these considerations; First ther is no house in *Germany* at this day, of that infinite greatnesse as is requisite to withstand the Turke in his incroachments, the house of *Austria* set aside, who by their alliaunce, or rather neere intirenesse with *Spaine*, and sundry elective Kingdomes which runne necessarily vppon them, shall be alwaies able to make head against any power in the world. And by their owne state, confining so immediately with the Turkes, shalbe necessarily inforced to imploy the vttermoost droppe of their blood to keepe them off: next, whensoever the matter growes to the Electi-

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one of another new Emperour, they shall alwaies have the casting voice with them or rather in them, having entangled the States of *Bohemia* in such bondes, and promises. Besides, there is no other whom they may make choyce of, that they may make no other accompt of it, then as being halfe hereditarie. And lastly, their late pollicie now strengthened, by vsage of declaring a King of Romans in the Emperours life time, whilst his presence and power may governe the action, doe assure them, it shal alwaies passe with them roundly and quietly.

The other ground of their hope, is the division of the Protestants into their factions of *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, as they stile them, wherein the Ministers of each side, have so bestirred themselves, that a coale which a wise man with a little moysture of his mouth would soone have quenched, they with the winde of others have contrariwise so enflamed, that it threatneth a great ruine and calamitie on both sides. And though the Princes and heades of the weaker sides in those parts, both *Palgrave*, and *Lansgrave*, have with great wisdom and iudgement, (to asslake those flames) imposed silence in that point to the Ministers of the one partie, hoping the charitie and discretion of the other sort would have done the like: yet it falleth out otherwise, the *Lutherane* Preachers rage hitherto in their Pulpets against the other as much as ever, and their Princes and people have them in as great detestation, not forbearing to professe openly, they will returne to the Papacy, rather then ever admitte that Sacramentarie and Predestinarie pestilence. For these two pointes are the ground of the quarrell, and the latter more scandalous at this day then the former. And some one of their Princes, namely, the Administratour of *Saxonie*, is strongly misdoubted to practise with the Emperour, for the ioyning of the *Catholike* and *Lutherane* sect in one, and by war to roote out & extinguish the
Calvi-

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Calvinists, the most plausible motion of the Emperour that ever could happen. Neither is there any great doubt, but if any stay and agreement could bee taken with the Turk, all *Germany* were in danger to bee in vproare within it selfe, by intestine discention: howbeit, all the *Lutherans* are not caried with this sterne humor: but they only which are called *Lutherani rigidi*, the greater part, which are perhaps the *Molles Lutherani*, are quiet enough. Neither account they otherwise of the *Calvinists*, then as of erring bretheren, whom the *Rigidi* haue (as is saide) threatened to excommunicate as Schismaticques and Heretiques.

To this lamentable extremitie hath the headinesse of their Ministers on both sides brought it, whilst in the peremptorinesse of their poore learning, they cannot indure any supposed errour in their bretheren, whereof themselves, even the best of them perhaps (if they were well sifted) would be found to be full enough: (such take I to bee the condition of all men of this world, that in their ignorance of all actions, save of their Schooles and books) make more account of some ill shaped Sillogisme, then of the peace of the Church, and happinesse of the worlde, the end whereof will bee, that their enemies shall laugh when themselves shall have cause to weepe, vnlesse the grationnesse of God stirre vp some worthy Princes of renowne and reputation, with both sides to enterpose their wisdom, industry, and authoritie, for the vniing of these factions, or at leastwise, for reconciling and composing those differences in some tollerable sort. A worke of immortall fame and desert, and worthy of none but them, of whome this wicked base worlde is not worthy. But heertes I shall haue occasion to speake in his due place; for this place it suffiseth, that these intrin-sicall quarrels, are the hopes which make their enemies hold vp their heads, and quickneth their expectations to see the blades of these reformers drawne one against another,

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ther; that themselves being called to the beating downe of the one partie, may afterwards in good time assaile the other. In the meane season, planting in all places their Colledges of Iesuites, as the onely corrasive medicine to fret out their adversaries: Now on the other part, the hopes are also not fewe: besides, their over-topping of them so much in multitude and power.

First the *Germanes* bearing a naturall stiffe hate to the *Italians* for his winding and subtile wit, (which dispiseth and would ransacke him, but that hee opposeth a proude stoutnesse, and intractable obstinacie, which serveth alwaies as a wall of defence to simplicitie) will hardly (what tempering soever the Princes make) bee brought ever to reffect the Papacie, whose sleights and devises they are throughly acquainted with, and have in more detestation, than any Nation whatsoever. And for their owne inwarde dissentions, it is to bee hoped, that though no courses were taken to compound them, yet never will they bee so madde, as to decide them by a generall open warre, having on both sides, the Turke, Pope, and Emperour to ioyne them in friendship. For although the contention of brethren bee bitterest, yet a common strong enemie alwaies maketh them friends againe. And as for the *Administrator* so much suspected, who prowles, as some say, in the practises for his owne greatnesse) his authority is but short, and expireth within three yeares.

Then for having an Emperour of some more indifferent familie, though their desire bee in that point of all other greatest, yet their hope is (as I suppose) least, & that which is, seemeth to be grounded vpon Electors of *Collen*, either if the old Elector *Genardus Thracensis* should live so long, whom in that case they might by force restore to his place from which he standeth now by force reiected, yet retaineth his claime still, and stile of Elector. Or if some other of that Sec, might be induced to follow the steps of two of their auncestors, who have turned Protestants, of which

*Hopes of the
Protestants.*

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cause that place wilbe alwaies in danger, by reason of such vicinitie and intermixing of their state with Protestant Princes. Besides, in *Collen* it selfe the religion hath already footing, or at the leastwise might be drawen to that civill indifferencie, as in preserving their freedome of election, to change once in an age that familie of *Austria* wherein the Empyre having continued these seven discents, may in time be established by prescription. And lastly, for the Iesuites their great Patron and planter, the olde Duke of *Bavaria*, having now retyred himselfe into their Colledge, and resigned his state to his Sonne *Maximilian*, who it is thought doth disfavoure them, as much as his father doted on them. These and other such chaunges may give stay to their proceedings. But to leaue these hopefull speculations on both sides; and to take matters in termes they stand now, and may so continue. The benefit which the Papacie may expect from the Empire, is rather to keepe matters in that stay they are, then anie way to restore it where it hath beene disposed. For although the Turkish warres should cease, which is not vnlikely, considering the calme nature of both Emperours, who take more delight in Chambers then fields, yet shall our Christian Emperour be inforced still in fortifying and mainteyning Garrison all along his Frontires and confines, so to exhaust his owne treasure, and employ his people; so that he will not be able to doe else-where any extraordinary matter, without helpe extraordinarie, which is never over-readie. And time which may prodvce manie accidents in his favour, may also produce in his disfavour as many. And by so many the more, as the ground out of which in those partes they may grow, is manifoldly larger against him then for him.

Now for the low Contreys, the Papacie hath two thirdes with it, and of the *Switzers* and *Grisons*, two thirds, against it also. The Protestants are lightly the wealthier, and the Papists more warre-like which may suffice

the low Cuntries
Switzers
and Grysons

in the west parts of the world.

suffice for those parts of *France*; how much the better is it knowne vnto vs at home, so much the lesse shall I need to speake much in this place. Neyther is it verie easie to proportion the parties, by reason they of the Religion are so scattered in all places; yet in *Poitou* almost all, in *Gascorie* an halfe; in *Langnedocke*, *Normandie*, and other West *Maritime* Provinces, a reasonable strong part, as likewise in sundrie mediterrane parts. But whatsoever is the proportion of the number to their opposites (which is manifoldly inferior, not one to twentie,) their strength is such, as the warres have witnessed. And specially at this day, notwithstanding such massacring them, so generall arising of the whole realme against them, by the vitermost extremitie of fire and sword, to exterminate them, they are esteemed to be stronger than at any time heretofore. In summ, so strong, that neither have their aduersaries any great hope to winne, and themselves not in feare to be borne downe by warres; that their practise of peace (which hath sorely alreadie bitten and afflicte their states) by depriving them of place, of office, & honor in the realm, confining the exercise of their religion into chambers and remote corners, did not impoverish, debase, & disharten the partie, and so withdraw those from them that otherwise would sticke to them. That is it which they misdoubted, and by the Edict now past and verified, have sought to remedie. But looking more attentively into this partie, I find, that as conscience, in what religion soever dooth even in the mists of error, breed an honestnesse of minde, and integritie of life and actions in whome it setteth: So divine and pure vertue, as the love of the Creator, which is the ground of all that merite the name of Religious; so also, that in them that affect the greatnesse singlenesse and in a manner, a verie carelesse simplicitie in their Religion, as contenting themselves with the possession of the rich treasure of truth, and for the preserving of it, or themselves, recommending those cares

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to God onely, yet tract of afflictions, much miseries, often over-reaching by subtiltie of adversaries, doth finally purge out those grosse witted humors, and doth ingender a verie curious and advantagious warines in all their proceedings, having learned by experience, the wisdom of the Aphorisme: That a small error in the foundation and beginning of all things, doth prove in the proceeding and end of them, a great mischiefe, as hath fallen out in their men, who doe as farre heerein ourgo their opposites, in all civill policies, as in other places they of the Religion are lightly outgone by them, which next vnto divine blessing which accompanieth good causes, where wickednesse or wilfull witlefnesse doth not barre against it, I account their chiefe reason of their present strength and assurance, by their providence in their capitulations, by their resolutions in their executions, by their industrie, and dexteritie in all occasions presented, they have possessed themselves of an exceeding great number of strong townes or places, there is scant any office or estate can fall void, but that they lay in by all meanes to get into it. They have Synods for their Church affaires, their conventions and counsels for their civill, their people is warlike: for leaders (a matter of maine importance,) they are about their adversaries, having besides those three of principal and knowne name, other in *Gascogne* of lesse place and degree, but in skill and valour not inferiour to the best. In fine, they have learned the wisdom of *Spei sibi quisque*, &c. the contrarie whereof before, brought them so neere to their ruine. But now touching the weakenesse of them of the Romane Religion, in comparison of that strength which their multitude should promise, much more may bee said. First one great part of them are in heart with the reformed Religion, though for worldly respectes they hold in with the other: also will begin to disclose themselves daily, those things being not settled in reasonable sort, which have hitherto beene but in motion: Second-

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ly, they are not all Papists that hold with the Masse; but the Catholickes are heere divided into as different opinions, and in as principall matters as the Protestants in any place that ever I heard of, although their discretion and moderation is such, as not to interrupt the common concord with private opinions.

The ground of which disagreements in opinion (as I do take it) is the antient diversity between the *Roman* Church & the *Gallitane*, which in many ceremonies differs much from the *Romane* Church, as (to omit sundrie other) in the priests Lotions at the Masse, and in their walking hymnes at *Vespers*, and in some of them rather runs with the viage of the Greeke Church (as in their holy bread on Sundayes for them that do not communicate) so also in the verie head point of their ecclesiasticall government, it holdeth the general Council to be above the Pope, which opinion is at this day very currant & strong, even among such Catholiques as favour the Papacie, which I reckon for the first differēce touching the estate of the Church, which calleth into question, in whom the very Soveraigntie and Supremacie therof is placed. An other sort are there which hold their Church to be the true Church, although they acknowledge sundry errors of abuses of lesse importance, both in doctrine and practise. But for the the Pope they hold resolutely, that he is that Antichrist, which sitting in the Temple (that is in the true Church of God, for even by his verie being Antichrist, some prove they are the true Church) doth advance himselfe above God, as they thinke apparant by his dispensing with the law of God, by the marchandizing of soules, in his purgatorie pardons, releasing them in an other world; whom divine sentence hath bound, as also by his Indulgences for great summes of money in this world. And not least of all by his arrogating the impossibility of erring, being a property peculiar unto God, and not communicated, but only at times to the extraordinary Prophets, as all Churches in the world

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France.

besides the Romane acknowledge. This sort spreadeth farre, and as themselues will say of the learned sort, three parts of foure consent in this opinion. And they which are most devoted to the Pope, that in that respect doe hate this realme above all other, confesse that Lawyers are greatly infected; in which regard also some, terme these the Parliament Catholickes. The opinions thus prevailing among the Catholickes of *France*, it is not to be marvelled, that the realme was so readie vpon the Popes refusall to re-bleste the king vpon conversion to them, to withdraw vtterly from the obedience of his Sea, and to erect a new Patriarch over all the French Church. The now Archbishop of *Burges*, who was ready to accept it; and but that the Pope in feare thereof did hasten his benediction it had beene effected, to his vtter disgrace and decay: As the proffer and probabilitie thereof will hold him in awe, and in good temper of cariage to his kingdome, and content to beare indifferent sway with them in any things; as on the contrarie side, his great doubt of the French vnsoundnesse to him at the heart, will cause him the lesse to favour any of their footings in *Italy*.

Now these men, though they dislike also of the reformed religion, as having brought in an extreame innovation of all things, in stead of a moderate reformatiō of what was iustly blameable, yet will carry themselues alwaies in likelihood in an indifferent neutralitie, rather than by extinguishing the one extreame to overstrengthen the other. A third part of this side we may make the Royalists, who as much as they dislike the attempts of the Protestants in alteration of religion, so much & more do they hate those mischevous courses taken by their adversaries against them, which have threatened so neere ruine to the whole state of the kingdome, that it may shew halfe a miracle that it hath ever recovered, being so long a time at the very point, eyther of shivering in peeces, (as hath happened heretofore in other countries in like case,) or of rendring it selfe into the fur-

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servitude of that hatefull name of their neighbours. This part having by experience learned the wisdom to knowe, that the quarrel of religion is but a cloake of ambition for the great ones. At this day many Traytours intents passe vnder catholike pretences; that the Protestants will be alwaies a sure enemie to the Spanyard; and to all his favorites, partizans, & pensionaries: that whilest he may be suffered to enjoy liberty of conscience, without any disabling or disgrace in the state, he will be in all occasions ready to serve the King to his utmost, and forward by deserts to maintaine his favour; that it is not so easie a matter to extirpate them, as some thinke, having so deepe roote in the realme as they have, besides the favour of so many great princes their neighbours abroad, who are ingaged & embarked in the same very cause. And that although it were to be wished for the happinesse of the kingdome (which during this diversitie and dissention in religion shall breed greater securitie to their neighbours than to themselves;) that if it were possible, some course were taken for a finall revniting of all into one profession, yet this being not to be hoped for in this exasperation of mindes on both sides, must be commended to time, which workes out manie thinges, which effecteth even wonders, on a sodaine. And finally, to some generall good way to bee taken by the ioint consent of wise and worthy princes for effecting like vnity over all Christendome, if it may bee: In these considerations, this part, which with his appurtenances is now the greatest, will never advise the King to become head of a partie againe, so long as hee may bee absolute commander of the whole having found the sidening course in such strength of both parties to be a false ground ruinous to them that take it. To these may be annexed those moral men (as they call them) who thinke not these diversities of opinions of any such moment, as that they ought to disioyn the who in the love of God, in the beleefe of the fundamental articles of Christian faith, in integrity & honesty of conversation.

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versation, (which are the greatest bondes) remaine vnited, much lesse that they ought to enrage mens mindes so far, as to cause them to take armes to decide the quarrel, which are not thole Instruments wherewith eyther error should be razed, or truth or religion planted. And finally, to this part may be added all those who affect a quiet worlde and peace above all things, which is the desire of those lightly, who in a middle degree of condition possesse also a moderate temper of affections, which is ordinarily the greatest part in all well ordered commonwealths. And withall, farre surest and firmest to the state. None of these will be easily drawne to enter into any violēt course against those of the reformed religion, so long as they have discretion, by no iealousie to provoke them. The last parte is indeede of the vowed and sworne enemies the Leaguers and rebels (as some name them) once the greatest and most favoured part of the realme, at this day not so; their plausible pretences being now disinasked, and their disastrous successe in their disorderly actions, which hath brought things to the verie counterpoint of that they aymed at, and left nothing but a memorie of much trouble and miserie, with the waiting of the people, the sacking of Cities, the harrowing and desolating of the Countrey, with imminent danger of ytter overthrowe for ever of the realme, making them hatefull & despised in those very same minds, wherein they were erstwhiles inshrined with all devotion, which reasons have so abated also the hawtinesse of their hopeles heades, who lately breathed nothing but Crownes and Scepters, but glorie to their followers, and have turned their song of Sovereignety to a more peaceable & calme tune of, *Nec veterum memini Latorum malorum*, howbeit right zealous men of the baser sorte, lightly possessed vvith Priars, vvho fill them vvith furies against their religion, are as malicious & ragefull against the Protestants as ever; & thirst after nothing so much as to imbrew themselves once againe in their blood, vvich they stick not to professe, and

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and indeede, had they heads and opportunities, would accomplish.

46 The number of these is verie greate and desperate, but impuissant, base, & broken, with these in heart ioyne in a maner all the Clergie, who count their religion and reformation their bane, & the verie calamitie of their estate for ever. A great error among other (as was observed by the worthie Chauncellour *Monsieur W. L. Hospital*) in the plottes and proceedings of the first Protestants of *France*, to alienate so respected and potent a part of the Realme, by leaving them no hope of any tolerable condition, vnder the reformed state who by following the wiser courses of their moderate neighbors they might have gained to them in greatest part as others did. Now this part which are the onely assured enemies of the Protestants, and of whom they make account that they will not faile them at a neede dooth come short of them perhaps in strength, though in multitude they farre exceede them, whereas this is also not to be least considered that as in the bodie of a man the humors draw still to the fore; so in a state, all aduerse and discontented persons doe associat themselves lightly to the parte grieved & persecuted. This take I to be the present estate of the factions in *France*. For matters of Religion submitting my opinion (as in all other things) to be censured & reformed by whomsoever with more experience & deeper iudgment shall have waded in & weighed these considerations. But to make any farre reach or coniecture for the time to come, that will not I be so sauele as to doe in French affayres, whose Minds are so full of Quick silver that the pimple wittes would take it, perhappes in dudgeon, that ony should presume to imagine they would plod on, in any tenor with that dull constance which their hevier mental neighbors doe vse, being able even in fresh experience to boast, that their lightnesse of spirit & mutabilitie of resolutions, have suddenly recovered them from these termes of extremities which in the haies of any constant

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stant nation in the world, had beene a very long cure, if not desperate & curelesse. But verily this dissention & diversitie in Religion, is still a verie great weaknesse & disease in their estate, and such as will be alwaies a matter of iebalbusie amongst themselves, of assurance of their neighbours, of ioy to their enemies. For *Lorraine*, & *Savoy*, with the *Vallesi* who confine on *Savoy*, they runne wholly in a manner with the streame of the Papacie, though in both partes ther be store of Protestants, and that the men of the better sort, but without any publicke shewe of their Religion, save onely in some out Shyres of *Savoy* neare *Berne*, and *Geneva*. What *Madam* the Kings sister may effect in *Lorraine* or contrariwayes, her selfe may suffer, time onely by triall is able to ascertain. These perticulars thus admitted, it will be to great difficultie to make some comparative estimate of the whole strength of the Papacie, in respect of the Priestres, being the part now onely on foote against them. For as for the greek Church, the case is evident, that though it bee granted, that they exceede any other, yet are they so oppressed vnder Turkish tyrannie, or remooued so farre off, (as the *Moscovite*, and some others) that they come not into any account in the surveigh of the strength which now wee speake of. But for Westerne and Latine Churches in the generall division into the part reformed, and part Papall admitting them in number and cirouite of territories to bee neare equall. As considering the huge compassse of *Germanie*, an Empire possessed so wholie in a manner by the Protestantes, I can make no other exposition. In other pointes wee shall finde great oddes and advantage, for strength indifferent, kinde on both sides; First, the kingdomes and States of the Romish parte, lying nearer the Sunne, are not onelie in riches, both naturall of their soyle, and accessorie, by great opportunitie of traffique to all partes of the VVorlde, by manifold degrees superiour to their Northren adversaries but

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but also in a finenesse and subtilie of wit, which having that other instrument of wealth to worke by, doth farre passe in all ordinarie and orderly actions. That robustiousnesse of bodie, and puissance of person, wich is the onely fruit of strength, that those colder climates do yeeld, though sometimes extraordinarily, it is knowne and to bee graunted, that those Septentrionall inundations by their verie violence and multitude, as in people more generative, have so wholly diluviated over all the South, that as a raging tempest, they have ruined those powerfull and flourishing Empyres, in the suddennesse of an instant, which had beene many ages in rearing and spreading it selfe over the world.

37. But these have beene no other than currentes, or brookes of passage, soone vp, soone downe, soone come, soone over-gone; neyther have the Northern people ever yet for all their multitude and strength, had the honour of being founders or possessors of any great Empyre, so vnequall is the combate betweene force, and wit, in all matters of durable and grounded establishment. An other point of great advantage in the selfe same side is the vnitng of their forces into foure heads, which vniting is a verie redoubling of strength in all things, they have on eyther parts, first and principally the Pope himselfe seated royally and pontifically in the midst: and chiefest regarding the rich Sunne in hie glorious rising, and the Moone in the height of her beautiful walke, on his left hand, the Emperour. The auncient *Romans* of honor, on his right hand: The King of *Spainne*, the new planet on the West, at his backe the French King, the eldest Sonne of the Church, mightie Monarches, opposed as brasen walles against his enemies on all sides about him: And the lesser Prince and States of *Italy*, as matter rather of solace and honour then otherwise, and to exercise himselfe as his humeurs of favours or displeasure shall advise, whereas on

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the contrarie part the onely puissant Prince, in any comparison with those other, is her Maiestie of *England*, whose State is so divided from all the rest of the world, that it is the lesse fit in that respect for the rest to make head at. The other have the Pope as a common father, adviser, and conductor to them all, to reconcile their iarrs, to appease their displeasures, to decide their difference, and finally, to vnite their endeouours in one course, to instance, to presse them, to remooue stops, to add encouragement by ayde from himselfe above all things, to draw their religions by consent of Counsels, to an vnitie, or likenesse and conformitie. In all places a principall pillar or stay to the vnlearned multitude, of glorie to themselues, of vpbraidings to their enemies: whereas on the contrarie side, the Protestants as seuered bandes, or rather scattered troopes, each drawing aduerse away, without any meanes to pacifie their quarrels, to take vp their controuersies without any bond to knit their forces or courses in one: No Prince, with any preheminance of iurisdiction above the rest; no Patriarke, one, or more, to haue a common superintendence, or care of their Churches for correspondencie and vnitie, no ordinary way to assemble a generall Council of their part, the onely hope remayning ever to aswage their contentions, and the onely desire of the wisest and best mindes amongst them. Every Church almost of theirs, hath his severall forme and frame of government, his severall Lyturgy and fashion of service. And lastly, some severall opinion from the rest, which though in themselves they be matters of no great moment, being no differences essentiall, or in any part capital, yet have they beene, are, and will be as long as they continue, causes of dislikes, of iealosies, of quarrels, and of danger.

In summe, what vnitie soever is amongst them proceeds only from the meere force & vertue of verity which
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all persons seeke for, which, though it bee incomparably the best and blessedest, and which alone doth vnite the soule with God; yet for order in the worlde, for quiet in the church, for avoyding of scandall, for propagating and increase, of what great power that other vnitie is which proceedes from authoritie, the Papacie which standeth by it alone may teach vs. These then are the advantages on the parte of the Papacie. But now one disadvantage (such is the nature of all things) impeacheth and diverteth all other their forces, & that is their vicinity with their grand enimie the Turke, who by land and Sea presseth harde both vpon the Emperour, Pope, and the Monarchie of *Spaine*, and driveth then oftentimes to such extasies of devises, that *Spaine* hath no other shifts to cleere himselfe, than by diverting him vpon his owne deere brethren of *Austria*, and causing him to fall foule vpon his friend the Emperour, wherein he is driven yet to a two-folde charge, both in bribing the *Basshawes*, to draw their Lord into *Germanie*, and in supporting their Emperour with money to withstand him. The Emperour on the other side calleth the Protestants for his aide, without whome the whole Empire were in daunger to wrecking: The Pope, who of all other is in deepest feare, though not yet in the neereft, knowing that the finall marke that the Turke shooteth at, is *Italie*, as thinking that to be the banner nowe onely remaining to be sett vp for the accomplishment and the perfection of his Empire. And that the warres with the Emperour, are but to open that land passage, forasmuch as by Sea hee hath alwaies prooved the weaker, bestirres himselfe on all sides in the best sorte he is able, both in sending such ayde as his proportion wil bear and especially in soliciting of the Princes of his parte to enter into a common league, and warre against him, giving overture of like desire for the Protestants also. but the Protestants would know what securitie and quiet they shall have from himselfe first, their neere and sterne, and

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vnplacable enimie, before they waste out themselves, in giving ayde vnto him against a common enimie indeede But one who is furthest off from them of all other. who as now is desirous enough to entertaine friendship, and who at the worst had carrieth no more cruell hate against them and their profession, neyther condemneth their religion more than the Pope their fellow christian. Then for his Catholiques and Polakers they cleerely slip collar, both for the naturall hatred they beare the Germanes; & for that they are in peace and amitie with the Turke, paying a certaine tribute. And although his neere neighbors, yet not in his way, which is not the North; but to the sunne, and to the South parts, and mainly and plainly to the conquest of *Italie*. The Venerians are contente also to live rather as free tributaries to the Turke, as they now are, than as slaves vnto Spaine, who in ioyning with them heeretofore in league against the Turke, & Pope *Pius Sixtus*, did contrary to his oath & bond forsakethem, & suffer them to be beaten, being left alone to the Turks furie. And all this to the end, that having their state vterly maymed and broken by the Turke; they might be constrained wholly to cast themselves, their soveraignetic, & cittie, into the armes & embracements of *Spaine* for safeguard. With this vnchristian treacherie have they charged him heretofore, though now all beeing quiet, they are content to put an vnacceptable motion to silence, by demanding of impossible conditions of securitie. Then for *France* it is farre off; & lookes that the neerer be (as they ought) more forward first, and requireth also with reason some breathing time to revive himselfe after his wearinesse by his late pangs. Lastly, *Spaine* hath so much to doe with *England*, and the revoulted Provinces, that hee thinketh the time gained that the Turke forbeareth him: So that in the end the whole burthen must rest on the Emperour, with that small helpe that *Italie* and some others do yeeld him And were it not his good fortune, or rather, Gods good provi-

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providence, that the verie same plagues that have ruined the glory & grace of Christendom, should now infect also the grand enemy thereof, namely, *Effeminate* and *Avarice*, whereof the one is the corrupter of all sound deliberations, & the other the quailer of all manly executions, which prevailing in his estate, as they do at this day give hope that his tyranny groweth toward his period, & for the present proved so, that a weake defendant may shift better, having no other than a cowardly assailant. This matter would have growne to that extremitie by this time, as could have called the King of *Spaine* with all his forces to some more honorable enterprises than he hath hitherto undertaken. And this is the bridle that holdes in the Papacy with all her followers from any vniverfall proceeding by force against the Protestants, who herein are greatly advantaged above them, in that either their oposites lye betweene them and the Turks, or in that their Countries coasting so much as they doe towards the North are out of his way & no part of his present ayne. But those aduantages & disadvantages of the Papacie equally weighed, I suppose this disadvantage more mischievous for the present, as proceeding from outward force in the hands of an enemy, and the other advantages more stable, as springing from the inwarde strength of their owne wealth and order.

48 This then being so, and that all things considered, there falleth out, (if not such indifferencie and equality, yet at the leastwise, such a proportion of strength vpon both sides, as bereaveth the other of hope ever by warre to subdue them,) seeing (as the Proverbe is) A deade woman will have foure to carry her soorth, much lesse will able men be beaten out of their homes, and seeing their is no apparance of ever forcing an vnity, vnlesse Time, which eateth vp all things, shoulde bring in great alterations: it remaineth to bee considered, what other kinde of vnity poore Christendome may hope for, whether vnitie

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tie of Veritie, or vnitie of Charitie, or vnitie of perswasion, or vnitie of authoritie, or vnitie of Necessitie, there beeing so many other kinds and causes of concord: A kind of men there are whom a man shall meet with in all countries, not many in number, but sundry of them of singular learning and pietie, whose godly longings to see Christendome re-vnited in the love of the Authour of the name above all things, and annexed in brotherly correspondencie and amitie, as becometh those, who vnder the chiefe service of one Lord, in the possession of one ground and foundation of faith, doe expect the same finall reward of glorie (which proceeding from the Father and Prince of Peace, reiecteth all spirits of contention, from attaining it) hath entred into a meditation, whether it were not possible, that by the travel and meditation of some calmer mindes that at this day vsually write, or deale on eyther side, these flames of controuersie might be extinguished or asslaked, and some tollerable peace re-established in the Church againe. The iustnes of their vertuous desires to see it so, hath bred in them an opinion of possibilitie that it might be wrought, considering first, that besides infinite other points not controuersied, there is a full agreement in the foundation of religion, in those same Articles which the twelve Apostles delivered vnto the Church; perhappes not an abridgement onely of the faith, but even as a touch-stone also of the faithfull for ever: that whilst there was an entire consent in them, no dissent in other opinions shoulde breake peace and communion. And secondly, considering also there are in great multitude on both sides, (for so are there vndoubtedly) men vertuous and learned, fraught with the love of God and the truth, above all things, men of memorable integrity of heart and affections, whose lives are not decreed vnto them, much lesse their labors to be spent for the good of Gods Church and people, by whose ioint indeuours, and single and sincere dealings in common conference for the search
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of trueth, that honorable vnitie of meritie might bee established. But if the multitude of crooked and side respects, which are the onely clouds that eclipse the trueth from shining more lightly on the face of the world, and the onely prickes which so enstoward mens affections, as not to consider and follow what were for the best, doe cause that this chiefe vnitie findeth small acceptation, as it is to bee feared at leastwise, that the endlesnesse & ill fruites of these contentions which tend mainely to the encrease of *Athe- nisme* within, of *Mahometisme* abroad by which obstinacy the Jewes shake the faith of Christians, taint the better mindes of acerbity, & load the world with poyson, which breake so out in their actions, which themselues thinke holiest, namely, the defence of Gods trueth, which each side chalenge; that in thinking they offer vp a pleasing sacrifice to God, they give cause of wicked ioy vnto his & their enemies; that those wofull effectes with very tedious wearinesse, may draw both parts, in fine to some tollerable reconciliation, or to some vnity of charitie: at leastwise, to some such as may be least to eithers preiudice. Let the one side give over their worshipping of Images, and offering supplication to Saints, their offensive ceremonies, their indulgences, their vsing of strange language not vnderstoode in their deuotions; (al which themselves confesse, not to bee necessarie orders of the Church and such as at pleasure shée may dispence with) yea Pope *Clement* the seauenth gave some hope to the French king, that hee would not be stiffe in things of this quality, and that the respect of time might iustifie the alteration; and some of the later Popes condescended to them of *Bauaria*, about the cup of the Sacrament, hoping that would haue contented them, which since, they, or their successors have taken from them again: On the other part let the Protestants (such at leastwise, as seeke to purge out that negative and contradictorie humour, of thinking they are then rightest when they are vnlikest the Papacy; & then nearest

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(to God, when furthest from Rome.) Let them, I say, looke with the eye of charitie vpon them, as well as of severitie, and they shall finde some excellent order of government, some singular helpes for increase of godlinesse and devotion for the conquering of sinne, for the profiting of vertue, and contrariwise in themselves, looking with a more single and lesse indulgent eye then they doe, they shall finde there is no such absolute perfection in their doctrine and reformation, as some dreamers in the pleasing viewes of their owne actions doe fancie: Neither ought they to thinke it strange, they should bee amisse in any thing; but rather a very miracle, if they were not so in many; For if those antient Fathers & Sages of the Church, who with greater helpes, beeing neerer the time of puritie, with equall industrie, so spending their lives with lesse cause of vsinceritie, having nothing to seduce them; notwithstanding, were not able in their weakenesse and blindnesse of their humane nature in this world, to soare vppon so high alwaies in the search of trueth, as to finde out her right Seate in the height of the heavens, but sometimes Errour to bee dwelling nearer them in steede thereof: How lesse likely that our age, more intangled with the worlde, further remooved from those faultlesse institutions, and so bitterly exasperated with mutuall controversies and conflictes, should attaine to that excellencie and perfection of knowledge, which (it may bee) God hath remooved from mans reach in this world, to humble him, and to increase his longing towards another world. And as the present time doth discover sundry errors in the former, so no doubt will the future in that which is now present: so that ignorance and error, which seldome goe severed, beeing no other then vnseperable companions of man, so long as hee continueth in his terrestriall pilgrimage, it can bee no blemish to them to revise their doctrine, and to abate the rigor of certaine speculative opinions, especially touching the

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the eternall decrees of God, the qualitie of mans nature, the vse of workes, wherein some of their chiefe Authors have come to such an vtter opposition to the Romist doctrine, as to have exceedingly scandalized all othe Churches withall, yea and many of their owne to rest very ill satisfied. The state of truth is aloft, that of vertue in the middest alwaies; both places of honour, but neither truth nor vertue draw to an vtter extremitie. And as in some points of doctrine, so much more in their praetise, in order of government and ecclesiasticall degrees, in solemnities and stateliness in the service of God, in some exercise of pietie, devotion and humility, especially in set fastings, accompanied with due contrition of heart & praier. Besides, in many other ceremonies, they might easily without offence of conscience at all, frame to draw somewhat neerer to their opposites then now they are, which yeelded on both sides a general and indifferent confession and summe of faith, an vniforme Lyturgy, a correspondent forme of Church-government to be made of the points both should agree in, and to be established vniuersally throughout all Christendome, that this all Christians should necessarily hold, and this their Divines in Pulpits should teach, and this their people in Churches should exercise: which done, the vnitie of communion should remaine vniolated for all other questions to be confined to the Schooles, the Counsels, and to the learned languages which are the proper places to trie them; and it should bee lawfull for each man to beleue as hee found cause, not condemning others with such peremptorinesse as is the guise of some men of over-weening conceits: and all this to bee done by some generall countell assembled and composed indifferently out of both sides, mens minds being before hand prepared and directed to this issue and conclusion.

But now, if eyther the obstinacie of the Popes ambition, or the wilfulness or scrupulositie of any opinionative

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Ministers should oppose against, and impeach the vnitie of Charitie; then the vnitie of authoritie to be interposed to assist it. That is, the Princes of Christendome to presse this agreement, to constrain the Pope to content himselfe with that temporall state which the skill of his ancestors have got, and left him. And for his spirituall, to be such as the ancient Countels had limited. And for all other gain-sayers to censure or punish them. Now for the Princes with ioint assent to do this, how many haue mightie motives to enduce them. The service of Christ, the honour of Christian Religion, the peace of Christendome, the strengthening of Christians, the repulsing and overthrow of all Turkes and Infidels: and these in generall. In particular, the assuring of their owne lives and persons, which so many, vnder pretence of Religion daily conspire against, the quiet and secure enjoying of their rich states, and kingdomes, the transmitting of them to their posteritie, without question or opposition. And lastly, the deliverie of their miserable subiects (which should be deare vnto them as children) from those extreame vexations of spirit and bodie, and those inestimable calamities in their states and conditions, wherewith these dissensions in Religions and effects thereof do now afflict them. And this is in generall, the summe of the discourse of that kinde of people which doe shew them (and they are for the most part) Protestantes though perhaps not running iump with their side in euery thing also many of the othor part, are caried with the same good zeale and affection, to the like desire and intention. But these are of the moderate sort of the Catholiques, and not of their Cleargie. And such lightly as haue but an indifferent conceit of the Popes claime and proceedings, of which sort, amongst the wise sort of the layity, are very many. But now in exacter consideration of this motion, there appears for the effecting of it, sundry difficulties, so great, that they draw to be next neighbors, to so many impossibilities, whereof I will mention onely

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two of the chiefe. For as for the thing it selfe, I must confesse for my owne part, the greatest desire I have in this world, is to see Christendome reconciled in the badge of their profession, and that without the ruine or subversion of eyther part, which cannot be done, but to the vnexpressable mischiefe and misery on both sides, and with the vter inhazarding both of Christendome and Christianitie, and that any peace were better then those strifes, which did not preiudice that higher peace betwene God and mens consciences: then for the way they purpose, it seemeth for the generality of it, ther is no other now left (seeing the opposition of extreames is no way peaceable) but by extinguishing the one, or drawing both to some more temperate and milde estate. But in this cause, two things doe cleane shorten this hope: The first is, the vntractablenesse of Papacy to it, who in so many conferences as they have made in this age, have alwaies ere they parted, plainly discovered, they came not with any such intent as to yeeld any thing for peace, much lesse for truths sake, but onely to assay, eyther by manifold perswasion and intreatie to reduce, or otherwise to intrap and disgrace their adversaries. And if some one of them have shewed himselfe more flexible at any time, it hath beene his vter discredit with his owne partie for ever after; a very sterne proceeding of theirs, admitting the fundamentall positions whereon the Papacy is built as good as necessary. For if divine authoritie doe concurte with them in all their ordinances, if Gods spirit assist them in all their decisions, and all possibilitie of erring be exempted from their Pope and Church, what remaines there but only that they teach we beleewe, they commaund, and the world obey. Indeed in humane governments, where reason is shut out, there tyrannie is thrust in; but where God commandeth, to a ke reason is presumption, to oppose reason, flat rebellion. To this miserable necessitie have their assertions tied them, which they have laid for their foundation, miserable to

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themselves, & miserable to the whole world. What can be more miserable to an ingenious good minde, then to have intangled himselfe in such a Laborinth of perplexitie and mischiefe, as to have left no place for the acknowledging of his errors, without ruining his estate, (when as error is onely purged by acknowledging, and doubled by denying it?) And to what a miserable push have they driven the world, eyther in their pleadings against them with such force of evidence, or in their ioyning with them, as to stop the mouth of the one, and to hang the faith of the other, on this vnnaturall paradox; *I and my Church cannot possibly erre?* And this you must take on our words to bee true. For as for their coniecturall evidence out of the Scriptures, there seeme to be as much, or more for the King of Spaines not erring, as there is for the Popes, it being said, *That the heart of the King is in the hand of God, a diuine sentence is in his lips, and his mouth shall not transgresse in iudgement.* But now, as by these meanes they haue debarred themselues from acknowledging, and consequently from being controlled of error in matters of doctrine, so on the other side, to reforme any great matter in their practise, were to open the eies & mouthes of all men against them, who now in the obedience of their blindnesse, sticke fast vnto them. Let them suspend from hence forwards, the worshipping of Images, the fleeing to Angels and Saints by vowes and praiers for patronage, besides the great losse it would bring vnto their traine in their offerings; What a ielosie would it breed in the heads of their owne, that they had led the world all this while on the blinde side, and that other things perhaps were introduced for gaine, and corruptly continued as well as these. Then for their aduersaries, their owne maner of saying is, yeeld one thing vnto them, and yeeld all, sith all hang vpon the same Prince, and by the same string that any one doth. So that it seemeth not to have beene vnwisely conceived by him, who said; that to perswade the Pope to any such reformation

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formation, was to perswade him to yeelde vp his keyes and Crowne, and to returne to the order of his predecessours and other Patriarches, which to do, as yet he sheweth no intention. Than to hope, that though himsefe and his Sea should withstand it, yet the learned of his side might be enduced in other places to some treaty of accord, they know them not, which would have that concept of them.

For though it were perhaps not vntruely saide of a great man of their owne, that the Popes not erring was but an opinion of Pollicie, not of Theologie, to give stay to the Laie, not stoppe to the Divines, of whome (in such infinite controversies and iarrings about interpretations of Texts and conclusions of Science, wherein manie have spent a large part of their lives) Never any yet went to bee resolved by the Popes, as knowing it to bee true which their owne Law delivereth, that in holinesse many an old woman, & in knowledge, many a Friar might out-goe the Pope, but in power and authoritie the whole world was vnder him: yet at this day they doe so generally all cling vnto him, and drawe by his line, as having no hope, eyther of standing against their opposites, but onely by him, or, of vnity amongst themselves, but onely in him, that touch him, and touch them; yea, they thinke some of them, the name of Paptist to bee as good and a more necessarie name at this day then of Catholiques, the one shewing only their vnity with their body, the other with the head of the Church, which is now more needefull. It remaineth that Princes take the matter in hand, and constrain the Pope and other to yeeld to such accord as they should thinke reasonable. Indeed this were an only way to effect it: for Reason is a good Orator, when it hath force to back it. But where are those Princes? they dreame of an old world, and of the heroicall times, who imagine that Princes will breake their sleepes for such purposes. If there were at this day, a D A V I D in Spaine, a I O S I A S

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in *France*, or *Ezechias* in *Italie*, a *Constantine* in *Germanie*, the matter were ended in a very short time. But take men as they are, and as they are like to bee (beeing brought vppe in the middelt of their factions and flatterers, where they seldome heare truth, and if a good motion, by chance bee set on foote by one part, it is sure to bee straight crossed, through the watchfull industrious envie of the other), the world may hold it selfe reasonable happie and content, if the civill State bee vphelde in any tollerable manner, and not thinke that they should care greatly for reforming the Church, and much lesse for the vniting of the State Ecclesiasticall, the dissentions whereof, have, and daily serve so many mens turnes. And though it is to bee acknowledged and thankfully commemorated, that this age hath not beene so vtterly barren of good Princes, But some have deserved to have beene enrolled amongst these Worthies; yet the ambition and incroaching humours of certaine, and want of corespondencie requisite in others, have stopped perhaps those honorable thoughts and designs, which had else beene employed for the vniverfall good of Christendome. In summe, there is small hope remaining in this part, the world having extinguished the care of the publique good, by an over-care of their private, and each proiecting to passe their owne time smoothly over, in pleasure, and recommending posteritie to the Statres and Destinies), these reasons, together with the long continuance of this division, whereby both parts are formalized and settled in their opinions: insomuch, that at this day there are but very fewe, (in comparison of former times) that are gained either way: doe make mee dispaire greatly of any successe by that course, and so esteeme of that plot, as an honest heartie desire, but no probable designe, and as a cabinet discourse of speculative consideration, which practise in the world, and experience doth neede to certifie.

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The next point is, whether necessitie (which overrules all frowardnesse and sturdinesse of humors and passions) may not presse them to some vnitie, if the Turke grow still great vpon them, as hitherto he hath done, hee shall leave no hope for Christendome to resist, But in their inward concorde. True it is that a forreine enemy is a reconciler of bretheren; and that common danger holdes them together, as long as it lasteth, which else should flie asunder vpon everie light occasion. But herein me thinketh, it commeth first to be considered, whether the Turke be so fearfull a Monarch as is commonly conceived, especially since his late so huge enlargement towards the East, that which most men esteeme in him the grand cause of error, seemeth to mee a chiefe argument of the contrarie at this present, and that is the hugeness of his Empire. For Empires are then at the strongest, when they are at their biggest, there being a certain due proportion in all things, which they breaking, the that exceed, as well as they that come short, may be accounted huge add vaste, but not great, since that is great properly which is great in the actions, which one as often impeacheth by vnwildinesse in the bigge, as by weaknesse in the little. But if to this be adioyned, (as it sometimes fall out) that there be but a little soule to moove this vaste bodie, (which maketh some of the biggest men, to be neither wisest nor valiantest,) and that the government (which is the soule of the state) is scant & feeble, not able to embrace nor order so huge affaires, then is their no greater presage of ruine, then the verie massinesse it selfe, which every strōg push or iustle maketh reele and totter for want of that inward strength which were requisite to hold it steddie. And this take I to be the state of the Turkish Empire at this day which being a meere tyrannie as ayming only at the mightinesse and securitie of their great Lord, the sole absolute commander, without any respect to the benefite of the people vnder him, save only so far-forth as may serve vpo

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his greatnesse: and for that cause in his iealousie & distrust of his owne, keeping territories halfe desolate, waste, and vn-inhabited, his subiectes without heades of Nobilitie to lead them; without hartes to encourage them to seek their liberty or deliverie, abusing them by all kinde of bestiall education, and oppressing them by all sortes of extortion and outrage, giving the land where he conquereth to his Souldiers, & *Timarri*, which scattered over all parts of his ample Empire, are the onely contented people, & strength (in effect) he hath, as being bound by their tenures to serve whither soever hee calls them, & without his charge. This beeing his state, it is cleare, that the wildnes & lying waste of his Countrey, is to the great diminishing of his owne wealth and revenue, which is lesse than some one of our christian princes be at this day, though his Empire be larger then all theirs together. The vnpopulousnesse, together with the balenesse & feeblenesse of such as are weake, that no one Countrey is a defence for himselfe, but must have the concourse of very many of the rest to assist it: And lastly, the huge circuite of his soyle and confines, embracing (as is esteemed) eight thousand miles of land, and of sea, as many is the cause, that his *Timarri* cannot assemble together, but in very long time, wherein oportunities are often lost, besides the trying both of themselves, & their horses, before they arme. And the truth hereof is assured by fresh experience, he having done no great matter in all his wars of *Hungarie*, to speake of, onely *Germanie* with some small helpe of *Italy*, being opposed against him: But if we consider the effeminatenes of the education of their great Earles in these times: a thing which they are advised and constrained vnto, even contrarie oftentimes, to the manliness of their owne natures, and al to keepe the father from iealousie of his owne sonne, whose bravenesse of minde, and warlikenesse, is still suspected, And vse, having once soaked into their bones in youth, doth for ever after loose the sinewes of manly dispositions, and assub-

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iect them to the softnesse and basenesse of pleasures: considering also the avarice and corruption which raignes there, all peace and warre, all frenships and enmities, all favours and wrongs, all counsailes and informations, being growne to be saleable. If these be as they are, the signes of the diseased, and prognosticators of a dying Monarchie, much more of a tiranny; then surely have we not now so great cause to dread him, as to blame our selves, and our wrangling who choose thus in practising to exterminate each other, to trace out a dishonourable and fruitlesse life. At the ende finding our selves at the same, or woorie termes then when we beganne, rather then establishing first a firme accorde at home, to attempt with vnitie, zeale, love and forces, so iust, so Christian, so honourable, so rich a warre. And verily, if but Princes confining vpon him (though agreeing among themselves for the most parte in Religion) were not so strongle infected with emulation and home-ambitions, as to condescend to paie Tribute to the Turke in severall, for so doe they as a redemption, each of them of their peace, whereof it hath no longer assurance then his pleasure, which with double as much vnderhand bribes and presents must be dayly sweetned. And which is yet woorse, when he list, commeth to invade any one of them (as he doth for his verie exercise, & avoyding tumults at home) the rest doe hold off from giving succours to their neighbours, for feare of drawing on revenge vpon themselves some other time, which is the cause of the Polonians and Venetians at this present, who scarcely dare so much as pray against them in their devotions, otherwise then in their hearts, which I weene they doe duely. where it not I say that their private ambitions, feares, and mistrustes did drive them to make so abiect and vnchristian choyse, as to inthrall themselves into such bonds of tribute, and slaverie, to so proude, and insolēt, and wicked enemy rather then to ioyne in one course, for the

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rooting of him & his tyranny out of this part of the world, it were not so much to be doubted, but the feare now of this side would sooner turne to the other, seeing that one good blow to a body so frailt, & so full of distempers were able to put the whole in danger of ruining, and shivering. These reasons induce me not to thinke that the danger from the Turke should be so great, as to enforce the Christians to runne mainly to an accorde: and though it should, yet without other founde working by perfect composing of all inward dissention, this would be but a civill accord, & only for this time, which (the feare once past) would dissolve of it selfe, and the former contentions revive as fresh as ever. For the bond of common feare, is the strongest indeede of all other, but the shortest withall, which nothing during the danger is able to breake, and the danger once past, falls in sunder of his owne vnsoundnesse, howbeit if the Turke should set foot in *Italy*, and abate the Popes strength, by possitting his State, then would I not doubt much, but that both himselfe would be content, and all other Princes forward, that some such vniue, as is before spoken of, might be established. But that is a case as unlikely in short time, as in tract of time not impossible to happen if some manly stowte Turke, should succede these weakish. There remains then, the vniue by perswasion only, which both sides seeme now to rest on, each practising and hoping in tract of time to eate out the strength of the other, by his industrie, in drawing away by perswasion his followers and adherents wherein the Protestant accounteth his advantage so much the greater, in that the vniue of veritie is it which hee perswadeth, and truth beeing by so infinite degrees stronger than vniue, having God to blesse it, heaven, and earth, and all the creatures of GOD to witness it; and falsehood it selfe (which is alwayes his owne cut-throate, by his crossing and contrariety) to yeeld confession vnto it, vntill the fault be exceedingly in the hãdler and

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and pleader, it must needs in the end maugre the malice of all enemies, and craft of all inventions, prevaile and have the victorie, although the vtter abolishment of the Kingdome of Antichrist they referre with the prophetic to the appearance of our Saviour in iudgement & triumph, now shortly approaching. On the other side, the Papists hope that their perswasion being seconded by so great Princes authoritie, and fathered, by so many collaterall aydes, of motives, and practises, leaving nothing vnassayed which may preiudice, inflict, or annoy their opposit; and providing as they do, a perpetuall succession of instruments to be imployed in each kind over all partes of Christendome, they shall in the end tyre, eat out, and vtterly consume the strength and stomacke of their vnpolitique and divided aduersaries. In the number wherof, though they score vp all religions, especially christian, that acknowledge not the Pope, and the three-fold plenitude of his supernall, terrestriall, and infernall power, extending to heaven in canonizing Saints, to the lower parts of the world in freeing from Purgatorie, & over the earth in being the vniuersall guide and pastor of all men, yet are they not affected to all their opposites in like sort (speaking of such as with whom they live and daily converse,) For, to omit the Jew whom they mocke with their Messias so long in coming, as also the Grecian, whom they pittie with their Patriarch vnder the Turkish slavery, their hatred is to the *Lutheran*, the Author of their calamitie. But hatred and feare both of the *Calvinists* onely, whom they account the onely growing enemy & dangerous of their state. For as for the *Lutherane* he was long since at the highest, & if he fetch an inch forwards one way, for an ell he looseth another, it is only by a kind of boysterous force and violence against the *Calvinists* as in *Strasborough* of late. The reason wherof (besides the absurdities of the vbiquitary *Chimera*) hath perhaps beene in part, for that their opinion tooke vp his seat in *Germanie*, a stiffe people, but on hevie,

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*Lutherans in
Germany.*

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*Calvinists in
France.*

which will hold their owne well, but gaine little vpon other men, whereas the other falling vpon a livelier metall, of the *French* especially, who are alwaies stirring and pra-ctising vpon their neighbours. And more vehement for the while in whatsoever they affect, hath had a very huge increase in latter time, notwithstanding those massacres which have beene vsed to extinguish them, and still growing forwards in all places where once it taketh, and overtoppeth them now, from whose roote at first it sprung. This therefore by all meanes they seeke to repress, giving some blind hope to the *Lutherane* of quiet & toleration, so hee will ioyne against these a while the fretters out of both: But of all places, their desires & attempts to recover *England* have beene alwaies, & stil are the strongest, which in their more sober moods, so many of them wil acknowledge to have beene the onely nation that walke the right way of iustifiable reformation, in comparision of other, who have runne headlong rather to a tumultuous innovation (so they conceive it) whereas that alteration that hath beene in *England*, was brought in with peaceable and orderly proceeding, by generall consent of the Prince and whol realm representatively assenbled in solemn Parliamēt a great part of their owne Cleargie according and conforming themselves vnto it, no *Luther*, no *Calvine*, the square of their faith, what publique discussing & long deliberation did perswade them to be faulty, that taken away: The succession of Bishops, and vocation of Ministers continued, the dignity and state of the Cleargy preserved, the honour and solemnitie of the word of God not abused, the more ancient vsages not cancelled. In summe, no humor of affecting contrarietie, but a charitable indeavour rather of conformitie, with the Church of *Rome* in whatsoever they thought, not gainsaying to the expresse law of GOD, which is the onely approoveable way in all new reformations: yet notwithstanding, in regard of the power and renoune of the Prince, and of their exemplarie policy in

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government of the state, in regard that they concurring entirely with neither side, yet revered of both, are the fitter and abler to worke vnity betweene them; and to bee an vmpire also & director, a swayer of al, whensoever there should be an occasion of assembling of their counsels, or conioyning their forces, for their common defence, and especially, for that it is the only Nation of the Protestant party, able to encounter and affront their king Catholikes proceedings for the rooting out of heresie, as their actions both by sea and land have manifested. Of all places in the world they desire most to recover it, making full account that the rest would then soone followe and apply to them of their owne accorde one after another. But to as high a tide as they are risen in their desires thereof, to as lowe an ebbe, are they fallen in their hopes, being lesse now (for ought I perceiue) than ever, having seene her Maiestie kept, and almost myraculoufly preserved, their treasons discovered, their excommunications vanished, their armies defeated, their cartels and bookes answered, their chiefe champions discouraged, wasted, deceased; those that remaine, though many, yet few of ability, insomuch (were it not for some hope of reformation which time may bring) their fouders were likely to withdraw from them ere long their stipends, which get them but a name of fruitlesse liberality. And this is all I can say for any hope or meanes of this generall vnity; and so must I leave and recoinmend it to God, as being both our best and now onely remaining pollicie, to addresse our vnited and generall supplications to his diuine power & maiestie. That it may please him, by that ever-springing fountaine of his goodnes & gracious mercy, even beyond all humane hope (if it may fit and so with his blessed will) and by such meanes as to his Diuine wisdom are ever in readinesse, to effect those things which to mans wit may seeme impossible) to extend his compassionate and helping hand, over his miserable, defiled, and disgraced Church, persecuted abroad, and persecuting

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it selfe at home, confined by Tyrants into a corner of the worlde, and therein raging and renting it selfe into fitters to purge out of mennes mindes that ambition & vanitie, which so bewitches them with the love of Pumps & glories of this perishing and ending world, which in the breathing of a breath they will loathe and despise as nothing, and to graffe in them a pure and single eye, to behold the eternall trueth (which seene) breederth love, and love, conductes to happinesse; To roote out all gall and acerbitie out both sides, and to bend their hearts to charitie, that being re-vnited in the pilgrimage of this life, this countrie of our terrestriall bodies, we may after our service & course therein accomplished, ascend vnder the conduct of our Saviour, before ascended to our everlasting rest, in the countrey of our celestially Soules, there in societie & vnitie of Saintes and Angells to enioy the happie vision of the allglorious deitie, and to sing his praise for ever.

I should heere make an end concerning the Church of *Rome*, but that a question incident to the mater, which last was spoken of, beeing mooved by many, & diversly answered, doth sommon me to deliver vppe my coniecture also; and that is, vpon what ground of equitie or pollicie the Pope should suffer both the Iewes and Gracians to have publike exercise of their religiō in *Italie*, yea in *Rome* it selfe, vnder his Holinesse nose, and onely the poore Protestant must be persecuted and chased, if it be possible, out of the worlde; no view of his religion to other, no exercise of it to himselfe permitted. For as for the Gracians they have a Church at *Venice*, with an Archbishop of *Philadelphina*, a Bishoppe of *Origo*, and sundry other Priests to governe it. And the Italians also doe often repaire vnto thiere Masse. They have their Masse also in Greeke with leavened breade & other schismaticall ceremonies at *Rome* it selfe and in *Naples* they say their priests retaine their wives still by permissiō fro the Pope; in regard that in these places they acknowledge the Pops preheminance and power

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power, which at *Venice* they doe not, but a meere primacie of order, which the auncient Councils thought good to give him. No more do Grecians in *Apuglia*, and *Calabria*, about *Otranto*, and at *Cassana*, nor in *Cortu*, & other Ilands adioyning to that coast, being the old remaines of the Occidentall Grecians, and who have alwaies, and doe still followe the Greeke Church in all things, though these in *Calabria*, and *Apuglia* be subiect to the King of *Spaine*, and in his power to roote out whensoever himselfe listeth. And yet euen in *Italy* it selfe doth he suffer them and their Religion, who never could be induced to tollerate the Protestants in any the remotest corner of his huge scattered Monarchie, though the Grecians are condemned Heretiques, even in matter of the *Trinitie*, and perpetuall oppugners of the Papall right and authoritie. Then for the Iewes, they even swarme in the most of the chiefe parts of *Italie*, at *Rome* specially where the least number I could ever heare them esteemed at, is ten thousand and vpwards, though others say twise as many. They haue there, at the least, fower or fve Synagogues, both there & else-where; their Circumcision, their Liturgies, their Sermons in publique, and all that list may resort vnto them: yea, in means of enriching themselves, they are so much fauoured, that in all places they are permitted to straine vp their vsurie to eighteene in the hundred vpon the Christian, (for among theselves they no where vse it) whereas also that summe in a Christian is not tollerated, which causeth many of the Christians to vse these Iewes vnder-hand, in improoving their vnlawful rents to their utmost proportion. They haue also in some places, & it may be in all, a peculiar Magistrate, to decide any controversie betweene Christians and them, with particular direction to favor the in their trades. And lastly, where *France* hath banished that race, in *Auignon* only the Popes citie are they harbored & retained. Some answere to this demand in defence of the Pope, that the Church hath no authoritie to chastice the Iewes, who ne-

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ver were within the Church, but are as enemies in euen termes, whereas the Protestants are either vnnaturall or rebellious children, who haue flung out of the Church; or the issue of such, against whom her authoritie is endlesse, & vnrestrained, to take all courses possible to reclaime them for ever. This answere seemes faultie, both as short of the question, seeing it extendeth not to the Grecians, who are in the very same role of Hereticks, & Schismaticks, flingers out of the Church; & for that there is difference betweene exercising iurisdiction in punishing an enemy, & not harboring & cherishing him, and his vnlawfull and scandalous religion in our verie bosoms, as is done in *Italie*, who have called the Iewes in thither, yea, & stil do entice them whom *France, England, & Spaine*, have banished from the long since. Others leaving these quirkes of iustice, hold by the text of Charitie, That it is a Christian act to harbor a harmelesse enemy, & especially that it is of al other most befitting the Church, who hath hereby also better meanes to reduce them to the Faith: And so in fine to save their soules, which is the summe of their endeavors. And in fortifying this answere, there is to bee alledged for the first point, that the Iewes have their Service in Hebrewes, and the Grecians in Greeke, which *Italie* vnderstands not, yea, and that they haue purged the Hebrewes Liturgy from all points wherein they did impugne or scandalize Christianitie. And for the second point; that the Iewes are bound to repaire at some times to the Christian Sermons by which meanes some few of them have beene conuerted and more may be when God shall please so. But neither seems this answer so perfect as were requisite, for the Iews doe make their Sermons or expositions of the Lawe in the Italian language, though the text of Scripture they cite in the originall. And although they have purged their Liturgies, as they say, yet leaving them Circumcision, they tollerate that which is now intollerable. And as for their gayning of any soules among them, if they gained not more

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more Crownes, that reason would not stand: for if any credit may be given to the Hebrewes themselues, as many Friars become Iewes, as Iewes become Friars, of both sorts some, but few of eyther. But of the good provision they have taken to convert them, and of the fruites thereof I shall speake hereafter: In the meane time, this I aske: would they suffer the *English* Protestants to have an *English* Church there, none vnderstanding their language, neyther in service, nor Sermons, yea and purging their Lyturgy of whatsoever may seeme to impugne or deface their religion (if there be any thing in it of that offensive qualitie) as for my part I know nothing, but thinke rather, with great iudgement it was purposely so framed out of the grounds of Religion, wherein both sides agree, that their verie Catholickes might resort to it, without scruple, or scandal, if factio more then reason did not sway.

Then for repaying to their Sermons they know by experience they will not be backward, especially having the opinion of great men (as some say) that it is not vnlawfull. And lastly, what reason why they should not be as hopefull to gaine *English* mens soules as Iewes? yes, their hope is greater, else would they not bee at such cost vpon the one abroad, and bestow so little labour vpon the other at home. To this question they would aunswere; first, that there were more daunger of flocking away their people, if they should have but once a bare view of our Churches, as being more infectious, therefore no policie. And secondly, to what purpose the making of any such motion, what need vnto vs, and vnto them what profit? This answer deduced from policy and profit I take to be the right answer. Also to the first principall question, and neyther of the former drawne from Iustice or Charitie; For there is no cause of any feare at all, eyther of the oppressed Grecian, or of the obstinate Iewe, bearing a marke of ignominie and reproach in all places, yea, they remaine the rather as examples, and spectacles among
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them, of contempt and miserie; the one for the vngratefull refusall of Christ himselfe; the other for his sedition against the Vicar of Christ, as they inferre against him: whereas to give the Protestant any foote amongst them, were the next way to leave themselves no foote to stand on: On the other side, by extending pitie towards the afflicted, and dismaid Gracian, whom the verie hand of God hath laid as low as the verie dust, they saw some hope of regaining him againe vnder their subiection, which were to them a reputation and strength inestimable, and such as they cunningly by false bruits, cause the wicked daily to feede on. Then for the Jew, the profit by him is exceeding great, and greater in proportion of number then by the verie Curtesans, and that as well to the Pope, as to other Princes of *Italy*, to whom they pay a yearely rent for the very heads they weare, besides other meanes, to racke, and wracke them in their purses at pleasure: which gaine, as it is a peece of a cause why the beastly trade of the one; so it is the entire reason why the cruell trade of the other is permitted: they being vsed as the Friars, to sucke from the meanest, and to be sucked by the greatest; insomuch, that the Pope besides their certaine tribute, doth sometimes (as is said) impose on them a subsidy for ten thousand crownes extraordinarie for some seruice of state.

52 Now to consider a little, what probabilitie of their conuersion there is in these parts. And by the way to touch somewhat of their religion, and vsage. Thus standeth their case; they haue a religion, though something strange to our conceits, as being framed, not only out of the law of the old Bible, but also out of sundry capricious fancies & fables of their *Rabbins*, yet so hanfomly peececd and glued together, that one part seemes to hang to the other not absurdly. And that which they hold, they are so perfit in, that they wil give both a probable account of it out of certaine Morall Philosophie, & reason, (wherin they are wel seen) as also make some shew for it out of the Bible it self, wherein they are the skilful-

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skilfullest men (I beleeeve) in the world. And needes must they be so, setting their children to the Hebrew language at three yeeres olde, and following no other studie save of the Bible, and writings vpon it all their life long, except some few that betake themselves to Physicke. Touching God and his nature: Their opinions are for the most part very honorable and holy, save that they deny the trinitie. Touching Angels, but weake, and soyled with much Poetrie, Touching the nature and condition of man, very exquisite, and for the most part, drawing neere vnto truth. But for the three states of the soule of man, they run some more strange courses, holding the creation of them altogether with sundry of the antient, and others, the *μετεμψυχοσις* of *Pythagoras* (though not to different species) and *Platoes* Purgatorie of Vertue and Vice, and mans course; in both they thinke not much amisse, so that to the expiation of sinne, they hold nothing necessary but the repentance of the sinners, and the mercie of the Forgiver, which in that case is alwaies readie; For reward, that it commeth wholly from the bountie of God, without desert, yet different in degree, according to the works of each man. That the generall law of all men is the law of nature onely, which who so keepes, it shall lead him to blisse, in what Religion soever, though the Hebrewes, vnto whom the law of *Moses* was peculiarly given, by observing it shall haue a prerogative of glory.

They preferre the ciuill life before the solitarie, and Marriage before Virginitie, as being to Nature more agreeable, to mankinde more profitable, and consequently to God more acceptable. Their beleefe of the end of the world, of the finall iudgement, of the restoring of mens bodies, and of their happinesse everlasting in the height of the heauens, is good in the generall: But as they thinke it a bad opinion which some men seeme to hold, That God in his everlasting and absolute pleasure should affect the extreame miserie of any of his crea-

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tures, for the shewing of his iustice and severity in tormenting them; Or that the calamitie, casting away, and damnation of some should absolutely and necessarily redound more to his glorie than the felicitie of them all, considering that his nature is meere goodnesse and happinesse, and hath no affinitie with rigour or miserie: so contrariwise they thinke with *Origen*, That hell, in the end, shall be utterly abolished: And that the *Diavels* themselues after a long course of bitter repentance and punishment shall finde mercie at his handes that did create them, That the World may bee entirely restored vnto that puritie wherein Almighty God at the first did make it. And to that perfection and happinesse whereto each part of it in his severall degrees was destined by him, from whom nothing but goodnesse and blessednesse could proceed: Their Lyturgie in the kinde of it, is not much different from ours, consisting in Psalmes, and Prayers with sundrie short Hymnes and Responds of Lessons: One out of the Lawe, and read by some chiefe person, an other out of the Prophets, correspondent vnto the former in Argument, but is read by some boy or meane companion; For they will in no sort doe honour, neyther attribute they that authoritie to any other part of the Bible that they doe to their Law, which they doe vsually carrie about their Synagogue at the end of their Service in procession, with many ornaments of Crownes and Scepters, the children kissing it, as it doth passe by them. And sometimes doe they make proclamation, who will give most to their treasure, to have the honour of that time of taking out of the Law. But for the manner of performing their service and their behauiour therat, it is different from all other that ever I saw; They chaunt it in a strange wilde, halowing tune, with imitating sometimes trumpets, and ecchoing one to another, and winding vp by degrees from a soft or silent whispering to the highest and lowdest notes that their voyces will beare, with continual great wagging of
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of their bodies, and exultation, as it were, in some saurage and raging solemnitie, sometimes all springing vp lightly from the ground, and with as much varietie as wilde worke will receive. They weare certaine Ornaments of imbrodered linnen, cast mantle-wise about their shoulders, which are their Philacteries edged with knotted, fringe, according to the number of the Commandements, and serving as locall memories of the Lawe. The reverence they shewe, is in standing vp at times, and the gesture of adoration in bowing forwards of their bodies; for knéeing they vse none, no more than doe the Græcians; neither stirre they their bonets in their Synagogue to any man, but remaine still covered: They come to it with washed hands, and in it, they burne Lamps to the honour of God: but for any shewe of devotion, or elevation of spirit, that, yet in Iewes could I never discern; but they are as reverend in their Synagogues, as Grammer boyes are at Schoole, when their master is absent: in summe, their holinesse is the very outward worke it selfe, beeing a brainelesse head and soulelesse bodie. For circumcision they vse it to the dead as well as to the living, yet no way thinke it necessarie for the infants salvation: They are a subtile and advantageous people, and wonderfull eage of gaine, insomuch, that who so deales with them, needes let his wit goe with his beliefe, or else his findings shall come short to his expecting; as earnest to make *Profelits* as ever were their ancestors, and as obstinate against Christ as the Priests that condemned him. In other points they are, perhaps, rather to be commended than otherwise. Their care of avoiding fornication is such, that they doe marie their sons at eightene yeares: but adulterie they would punish with death, if they had liberty; when they break the Lawe, they come to their *Rabbi* for punishment, yet without any particular disclosing of their fault: they kepe their fasts and feasts verie duely: But as the Christians fast the night, so they the noone alwaies: They are charitable among

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mong themselves, leaving no poore vnrelieved, no prisoner vnransomed, which maketh them good price vpon everie pretence. And although for their vsurie and guilefull dealing they are generally hated there, and handled like verie dogges, yet some of them I haue knowne men of singular vertue and integritie of minde, seeming to want no grace but the faith of a Christian: Each Synagogue hath his *Rabbi* to expound their Lawe, to instruct their children, to decide their differences. For their *Messias*, they say now, seeing hee stayes so long, hee shall bee a fore-runner of the end of the world, and shall gather by his power, all nations into one folde, and so resign them vp into the handes of that eternall Pastor. But it doth seeme they expect him out of the East, whither the Spanish Iewes fled, and have exceedingly multiplied, for those doe they holde to bee of the Tribe of *Iuda*, and the other in *Germanie* and in *Italie* to be of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, who in honour of the more noble Tribe, and to correspond with them the better, do learne the Spanish tongue which those still retaine.

Touching the
Iewes conver-
sion.

Scandals given
to the Iewes.

53 But now to come to the point which I principally intended, which is, what probabilitie there is of their conversion in *Italie*: Three great impediments, besides their naturall and inrooted obstinacie I suppose there are which hinder it. The scandals of the Christians, the want of means to instruct them, & the punishment or losse which by their conversion they incurre. A scandall it is to see mans lawe preferred before Gods, to see so great a matter made of eating flesh vpon a friday: and that adulterie should passe for so ordinarie a pastime; a scandall are all these blasphemies darterd vp with hellish mouthes against God and our Sauour, so ordinarily and openly, that some of them are become verie Interiections of speech to the vulgar, and othersome meere phrases of gallantry to the braver: a scandall is the forging and packing of myracles, wherein the Friars and Iewes concurre in equall diligence, the one in

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in contriving, the other in discovering them. And surely this is an exceeding great scandall to them; seeing truth is of so pure and victorious a nature, that it refuseth to be in league with any falshood in the world, much more disdaineth to be assisted by it : neither can there bee a greater wrong done to a true conclusion, then to indeavour to prove it by an vntrue allegation : a scandall is the alterations which they are forced by the inquisitors to make in their Authors and monuments of antiquitie, thinking that these devises are our best evidences. But of all these alterations, they keepe a note for a time : A scandall is the vow-ing and praying to Angels and Saints, which they hold to be the duties peculiar to God onely, and so hath it beene esteemed among them in all ages : yea , and they note that the Christians pray more often and more willingly vnto Christs mother, then vnto Christ himselfe, or to God. But the greatest scandall of all others, is their worshipping of Images, for which both Jewes & Turkes call them Idolatrous Christians. Now this is so much the greater, & of more indignitie, for that they generally conceiue it to be a thing which Christ himselfe expressly commanded, and that in the Gospel of Christ, written by the Evangelists themselves; that the *Decalogue* should be recited with omission of the second Precept , as one of their greatest *Rabbines* contested with me, beeing induced into that error by some Catechisme of the Christians, which he had seene with that fault. Now when they come to conference with the Priests & Friars, (as sometimes they do), they vpbraid this as a peremptorie exception against Christ: those good men deny it not for feare of scandalizing their own, but letting it passe for currant; that Christ, whom the Jewes call a *Carpenters son*, was an Image-maker : or howsoever, an Author of the worshipping of them, seeking to saue vp the gash which they have made in the plaine words of that Law which was written by the finger of God , with their speculative plaisters of distinguishing betweene the

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Image

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Image of the true God, and the Idolls of the false gods, of
Idola & Idolorum of intencion instrumental, & finall in worship;
all which are the vnfavoreft dregs to the Jew in the world,
who saith; there was never yet Nation in the world vnder
the Sunne, so blockish as to worship a stocke and stone, as
a finall object, but onely as a representer of some absent di-
vinitie, and that the heathen themselves call them the *Effi-
gies* and *simulacra* of other; yet such *Effigies*, as that the di-
vine power by his verrue, did sometimes inhabite & work
miracles by, even as our Lady doth in her images in divers
places of Christendome; whereby, if the poore ideot were
deceived among the Pagãs, to thinke sometimes that very
image some diviner persõ, as cleare it is, that the like befalls
infinite simple christiãs, seeing their images either to grone
or to weepe and bleede, as they doe often, and so infinite
cares wrought by viewing and touching them: And for their
degrees of worships betweene Gods image & the Saintes,
they cannot perceiue them, they kneele to them alike, they
pray to them alike, they vow to them alike, they incense
them alike, they burne candles to them alike, they clothe
them alike, they offer giftes to them alike: the difference (if
it be any) is in their mentall affections, which whether the
blunt and vndistinguishing witts of the vulgar doe ob-
serve, they suppose a small measure of discretion may con-
fecture. In like sort, for their distinction betweene the
images of the true God, and of the false gods: they tel them
that in other cases that might have his place; but now in
this law, it being expounded in other places as prohibiting
this base & sensuall seducing kinde of worshiping God him-
selfe by an image (if any image of God were possible to be
made) That thus the law it selfe doth plainly deliver: thus
they which received the law vnderstood it, thus al their ho-
ly ancestors & learned doctors have still interpreted it, and
thus hath their nation in all ages beleevd: and therefore
they say, for their comming to the Christians sermons; that
as long as they shall see the Preacher direct his speech and
prayer

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prayer to that little wooden crucifixe that stands on the pulpit by him, to call it his Lord and Saviour, to kneele to it, to imbrace it, to kisse it, to weepe vpon it, (as is the fashion of *Italy*) this is preaching sufficient for them & perswades them more with the very sight of it, to hate Christian religion, then any reason that the world can alleadge to love it: and those be the scandalls which I heard themselves alleadge they take on that side, besides their *Transubstantiation*, which they can at no hand digest: The particular scandalls frō the Protestants, is their mutual dissensions which they hold to proceed from the want of the vniety of truth in their foundations, otherwise save for their generall exceptions against Christianity, they hold their religion very conformable to the law of Nature, which they account the principall. But were all the vnneedesfull scandalls in those parts removed, yet is there no good meanes there of the Iewes conversion vsed. They complaine first, that the new Testament, being the ground of our religion, they cannot see it. That Italian translation which they had, is called in, and taken from them, it is printed in Hebrew letters, but not in Hebrew language, at leastwise, not in such as they can vnderstand. With Greeke and Latine their nations never medled: besides which, the Inquisitors have inhibited and taken from them, all bookes that were ever published in that theame on either side, as well those that have bin written in defence of christian religion, as also the contrary against it, alleadging they will have no disputing in matter of religion either way, much like to an Edict set vp at *Dola*, in the french County, where the Iesuites reside, forbidding any talke of God, either in good sort, or in bad. Then lastly, for those few sermons they are bound to reparaire to, seldome are they directed to the pointes they sticke on, but holde on their vsuall tenour, as respecting meerely the Christians. The last discouragement to men, especially of their mettall, is, that at their conversion to Christianity, they must quitte their goods to the

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Christians. And the reason is, for that in baptisme they renounce the diuell and all his workes, part whereof, are the lewes goods being gotten, eyther of themselves, or of their ancestors by vsury. Now this is such a cold comfort to a man set on the world, (as that Nation is wonderfully) that for my part I have not hard of any converted in those parts, save some Phisitians, with some of their children, who by friendship to the Pope have obtained dispensatio to retaine their goods still, in as much as they were gotten by their honorable profession. But if on the contrarie side, the Christians would againe in their charity, give somewhat for the competent entertainment of such as for Gods sake did give vp their owne, I could not but well commend that rigor of iustice, which the bountifullnesse of this mercy did mitigate and asweeten. But being no such matter, there remains nothing for a lew converted, but to be friared, a trade which of all other they least can fancy, as being contrary (as they alledge to Nature it selfe) which hath made man sociable, and each helpfull to other in all civill duties, a trade never commanded or commended by God, never practised nor counselled by their renowned ancestors, who received continuall instruction and inspiration from above, which none of their Patriarkes or Prophets hath given example of. Onely in three or foure thousand yeares, *Elias* and some one other, hath bene found, vpon verie extraordinarie cause, to haue taken also an extraordinarie course of life, though of other nature, and to other purpose then the votaries of our times. And these are the termes that the Lewes stand on in those parts: and so must I leave the to the mercifull care of God, an vblest and forsaken people, obstinate within, and scandalized without, indefatigable in their expectations, intractable in perswasion, worldly, yet wretched, received of their enemies, but despised and hated, scattered ouer all countries, but no where planted, daily multiplying in number, but to the increase of their servitude, and not to their power. In summe, a long continued

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nued and marked example of Gods iust severitie to abate their pride, that glory even as they in their ancestors and founders, Gods Temple, and Oracles, promises, and many prerogatives, long continuance in honourable estate and glorie, (which things, if they were sufficient to preserve any seat in the world, euen their seat had beene preserved by them) and to proclaime to the whole world, that there is no assurance of the fauour, protection, and assistance of God, (without which all falls to ruine) but in beleeuing in his Sonne, and in keeping his commandements. And this also may serve touching the Church of *Rome* sufficient.

The Greeke Church.

Next followeth the Greeke Church inthrall'd (all in a manner save the *Muscovites* and *Candians*, with some few other of no great name or number) vnder the Turkish tyrannie : of which Church, as their farre distance from vs requireth nor to speake much, so their vniformitie in miserie, yeeldeth not much to be spoken for their Religion, except onely their ancient error, touching the proceeding of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, where-
in they have long dissented from all Latine or VVest Churches. In other points they seeme to stand in some middle termes of opinion, betweene the Romish and the Protestants, in the more weightie, or at the leastwise in the dominative. With *Rome* they concur in the opinion of *Transubstantiation*, and generally in the service, and whole bodie of the Masse, in praying to Saints, in auricular confession, in offering of sacrifice, and prayer for the dead, and in these, without any, or with no materiall difference. They hold Purgatory also and the worshipping of pictures : but for images, they will not so much as indure them in their Churches. As well for the proclivitie they have to trayne away the ignorant into the crime of Pagan errors, as also to avoid that similitude betweene their Churches and Hea-thenish Temples of Idols, which imagery doth cause. And for their pictures, they kneele to two onely, to Christ, and our Ladie : the rest they passe over with an ordinarie reve-

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rence. For Purgatory they hold none, in hell, or in the skirts thereof, or by any outward torment, but that the soules of the faithfull are not received into glory, till by an extreame compunction and anguish of mind, they have aworne out those staines with which the same, and the pleasures thereof in this life, defile them. In summe, those opinions which grew into the Church before that separation betweene the Greeks & the Latins, and all those ceremonies which were common vnto both, they still retaine, as their crossings, and tapers, with certaine other. But for these superstitions which have crept in fresh memory, or which were as antient, yet not so currant; and in generall, all those Canons of the Romish faith, which have beene thrust on the Church in those times, by the vnaccountable power & pride of the Papacy, tending to the advancement of their owne Sea, and to the exempting of their Church & doctrine from triall, by those Anabaptistickall fancies of the spirit, that mans them, and protecteth them from error in their consultations or resolution touching matter of faith, extenuating the sufficiency and authority of the Scriptures in comparifon of their spirit, or Church guided by it; all these things they abhorre no lesse then the Protestant: they hold vnderstanding requisite to concurre with affection, for the accomplishment of devotion in praying to God. And although their Lyturgies be the same that in the old time, namely; *Saint Basills*, *Saint Chrysostomes*, and *Saint Gregories* translated, without any bending of them to that change of language which their tongue hath suffered, yet doe they say, that alteration is not so great, but that their people with small accustoming, vnderstand the language well enough. But by praying with *Saint Dominicks* round counters, they esteeme of it no better then those heathenish repetitions, and unnaturall lip-labour which our Saviour censureth: neither can they beleewe that the Apostle James the lesser, who is painted vnder the Papacy with his great beads at his girdle, even as *Mary Magdalen* lightly praying before a crucifixe, was
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Saint *Dominick*s disciple, but a wiser mans farre, & one that introduced a better fashion of praying, if the world would have bin contented to have followed his prescripts. In like sort, for the holy water so much vsed vnder the Papacy, they beleeeve no such feare, that the diuel should have of it, nor sych force in it as to purge sin as their neighbors doe teach: they repute it a very vain opinion, that the Church cannot erre, both in the whole, & in every part therof: and consequently, that their neighbours of *Rome* had bestowed their pains better, which they have spent, in proving & perswading that they canot erre, in providing & caring more not to have erred. They acknowledge that there is sufficient doctrine in Scripture for salvation, though to the antient vsages of the Church, & writings of the fathers, they yeeld due reverence. Three things in the Pope they condemne, especially his pride, in arrogating of so exorbitant a iurisdiction over all Churches, contrarie to the decrees of antient Counsels, & vpon no shadow of right or good foundation, but chiefly in vsurping that temporall tyranny over Princes & the States, in deposing of the one, & disposing of the other at his absolute pleasure; his cruelty in persecuting other Christians with such extremity (for their different opinions) his presumption in mounting to the seate of God, by dispensing with the lawe of God & granting pardon for sin, & liberty out of Purgatory, which they accout to be of those royal prerogatives incident to God only. For as for the doctrinal foundations of these indulgences, the overplus of merits & satisfactions, in some being more the they needed, or then were to be required of any ioyes of heaven, in their particular persons, & consequently remain as a perpetual treasure to the Church, to be conferred by the Pope, on his weaker & lesser deserving, or rather lesse satisfying children (for so is their opinion) so farre are they from prising merits at such an estimable vaw, that contrariwise they concurre in assertion with the Protestants, that it is impossible for any creature to merite, as by way

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way of right, the least dramme of reward at his Creators hands; the service of ten thousand millions of worlds, being not able to adde any shadow of perfection to him, who is perfection it selfe; hauing whatsoever is good or desireable within himselfe, even fro all eternity, in infinitie of degrees & with impossibility of any the least addition. But whatsoever reward is bestowed vpon the Creature, floweth forth from the meere bounty & gratioufnes of the Creator, who as in goodnesse alone & meere grace did make him, so also in meere grace doth advance him to that high happines. That service intermediall which he requireth, is a gracious disposition of sweetest harmony, from the inexplicable wisdom of a Lord & Father, still abounding & enlarging his hands in all bounty & goodnesse towards his sons and servants, & destined to no others then to the creatures meere benefit & advancement only; that by his requisite indevors in those honorable waies of wisdom & vertue, of love & thankfulness, & of imitating of his Maker in doing good in the world, he may growe to a higher degree of glorie, which is proposed & reserved by that great reward in the height of the heavens, as a full & finall accomplishment of his whole desires, as the Crowne of his celestial blessednesse. Now, as in this opinion they agree in generall vvith Protestants doctrine, so do they mightily dissent from that doctrine, touching the eternall counsels of God, vvich *Caluine* (as some conceive) first reueiled or rather introduced into the vvorld. And since, some of his friends and fellowes have seconded, as thinking it very iniurious to the goodnes of God, & directly & immediately opposite to his nature, in regard vvhereof, one of their Bishops hath vvritten a booke against it, vvich hath bin sent to *Geneua*, and there receiued. Thus much of their doctrine, vvich though it may better and fuller be taken out of their Bookes, yet have I thought not inconvenient to deliver this in brieft, how I have found them also in speech and conference affected.

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55 Their Liturgies, for the most parte, are those three I have named, all which they vse for varieties sake in the severall feasts and times allotted for them. For the forme and ceremonies, they much resemble the Latines, though of the two the French Masse more than the Italian, not onely in their holy bread, but especially in their Altar, which with great misterie (as is said) they both inclose from the people, that the *Arcana* of those their ineffable crossings and convertings, may not bee prostituted and Polluted by vnsanctified view, whereas the Romanes lie open on all sides to all eyes. In their hoast they vse leaven, which the Latines avoyde. They elevate it forward, which the Latines doe backward, and neare the bodie of the Church, which the other doe at the Altar. In their crossings they are verie plentifull, but herein swarving from the Latines. The Greeke, who is more nimble therein, beginneth his crosse on the right side, and the Latines on the left, each with his severall mysterie. They have also a shifting, in one, and the same Masse, from one Altar to another, which the Latins have not, who contrariwise haue in a Church a dozen Masses, sometimes all going at once at severall Altars, which the Grecians vse not for ought I could see; they have much adoe with their lights, in putting them out, and in againe, at severall times and parts of their service, & their Liturgy is much intermeddled with singing performed in a tune, neither artificial nor altogether neglected, but grave alternated & branched with diuers parts. At the Creede the Priests come forth to the doore of the chancels, & hold vp a little imbrodered picture of Christ, towards which they do reverence, and pronouncet their beliefe. Their gesture, or reverence, are the very same with the Iewes, standing vp and bowing forwardes their bodies at times; for kneeling they vse none, save only (as they say) one day in the year. At there comming, they bow themselves thrise toward the Altar, and three times crosse themselves at their departure, having taken their holy bread with kissing

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their Prelats hands; from whom they receive it, they finally salute the pictures of Christ, & our Lady, kissing their hands which are plated over with mettall for wearing. But the Grecians pictures of Christ, & of our Lady, are nothing like the Latines, but as different as any two ordinarie faces that a man shall see. The most vniformity therin that I have seene, is with vs in *England*. For in *Italy* there is little, especially of our Lady, whose very pictures, which they say *S. Luke* himselfe partly did drawe, & partly begun, & an Angel did finish, may argue more devotion towards her in the drawer, then acquaintance, vnlesse her face were verie variable or their skill verie slender. Somewhere, as at *Loretto*, she is painted like a Blackmore. In summe, they have so little knowledge of her countenance and favour, that in some places they will assemble diuerse of their fairest Curtesans, to draw the most modest beauty of a Virgin, out of the flagrantie of harlots. But to returne to the Grecians, and to come new to their government, which is auncient, by Patriarkes, Archbishops, and Bishops, with other orders inferiour, vnto whom the people carry exceeding respect, as it were, to the publike fathers, and heads of their nation; notwithstanding that calamitie wherein the tyranny of the Turke hath plunged them. They have also a religious order amongst them, of *S. Basil*, the great founder of the East Monks; and *S. Benedict* of the West. These only have their vowes of chastitie & austeritie, and may not marry, which to the rest of their Clergy is not prohibited; they have also their proper habite, but shaven they are not, for ought I could discern; no more are their Priests, being a ceremony so bald, that some Priests in *France* are ashamed of the marke, and few of them have it that can handsomly avoid it. But as in the multitude of their religious orders, they differ much from the West Church, the Grecians having only this order of *S. Basil*, & the Latines having multiplied therein to greater store & varietie, then are professions in a comon wealth, or trades in a city. so also in their vse & course

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course of life. For the Roman monks by withdrawing themselves from the societie of other men, and living and dying within their Cels, do bereave the world of that benefit, and of that dutie and service wherein each man is bound to the behoofe of other, alledging in place thereof the blessings which by their assiduitie and fervor in praier not interrupted nor cooled by secular cōmercemēts, nor drawne down vpon the world, doe grow vnto the Church, whereas the Grecians continue that more approved institutiō of them by spirituall meditations, and exercises, and by severitie to make themselves fitter to serue in the Church of God, in ecclesiasticall calling with exemplarie holines. And accordingly their Prelates and other principall priests are chose in many places out of one of their order, & in greatest part these guides of their Church, have a wonderfull care, and are continually pricked with the motion of much feare and griefe of heart, lest their persecuted flock, gasping in helpelesse and comfortlesse exreamitie of all miserie, having famine of soule, and great blindnes within, for lacke of a Pastor, & meanes to maintaine them, without, seeing nothing but triumphes over Christ, and scornors of his religion, insolencies, and violencies against their persons, oppressions, and extortions vpon their goods, rapines, and murderings vpon the verie soules of their children; (a case to be bewailed with teares of blood by all Christian hēarts that knew it, hearing the onely anchor and stay of ther soules (which is the expectation of the comming of Christ, and of future saluation) daily derided and blasphemed by the pride of the mightie. And finally, seeing no shadow of any hope of deliverie from this calamitie, (vnder the burden whereof they grone) should in the end fall away, and revolt to *Turcisme*, inviting them therevnto with so many baites of pleasures, of freedome, and of worldly glorie. In which fearefulness of mind, the onely remedy remaining, is, the vertuousnes of their owne example, in constancie and patience, and avoyding of all scandall to their people, which is the cause that

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they will not heare of any reformation of any thing: not, I suppose, for any presumption or obstinacie of minde, as disdaining reformation, but all trembling at alteration which must needs accompany it, least their people perceiving howv they had bin amisse in something, might suspect the possibility of like error in the vvhole, & fall mainly vvhither the force of povver, & vvorlly prosperity (a chief argument to the vulgar mind) should sway them: & on the other side, their doubt of further exasperating the Turke in his crueltie against them (considering that in Greece and in all those parts of Europe, the Christians vnder the Turke, doe verie manifoldly exceede in number the *Mahometitians* themselves) may be a cause, why in their generall they hold so small intelligence, and correspondence with the West Church of one side or other, and are like to continue so, whilest their thraldom and cause of that feare shall last, though in their particular, they will declare a brotherly affection of both, and desire of the vnity of all in one truth. But for the Turke himselfe, hee maketh full account, that whensoever the West Christians should shortly invade him, these Christians vnder him would runne to their aide, if they sawe any likelihoode that they should prevaile. And this hath beene seene alreadie more then once by example, and hee provideth accordingly.

Moscovites. The *Moscovites* are a great Church, a free and puissant, not Schismaticks from the other Grecians (as some in disgrace of both deliver) though, perhaps, not cōcurring fully in al points, neither is it true which other of a contrary cōcept have rumored, that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* had removed his Sear to *Mosco*, whither he went, only to erect that See into an Archbishopricke, which before it was not, & returned. But the Turke to keep the *Moscovits* from stirring against him, causeth the *Tartarians* to make oftē incursions & roads into their country, that so being held alwaies in awe on one side, they may have lesse stomach on the other

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other to imbrace any thoughts or designs of interprising or combining with other Christians against him. It were needlesse now to enter into any view of their lives, neyther could it serve eyther way to their honor, or reproch of their Religion and gouernment, being mained, interrupted, or stopt in his operations, of what quality soever, through his tyranny, who strives to plant barbarousnes among them, as knowing, that neither civilitie founded his Empyre, nor with civilitie could it long continue. But the case is general, and experience shews it in all places, that the afflicted in all religions, how contrary soever, are, for the most part, men of conscience and honestie, save only where hopes draw other humors to them. For it cannot come from lesse than a virtuous affection, to prefer the sinceritie of conscience before worldly glory, howsoever it may be stained with erroneous opinions: as on the contrary side even the purest religion in prosperity draws it to an infinity of timeservers, who being trained vp in the exactions of cupid discipline, make their *Randevous* where the best cheere is stirring, and follow Christ vpon a sharp devotion, but to his bread, not to his doctrine. In which regard, the fruits of life in divers religions and governments are not to be compared, but where their prosperity and adversity are equall; So fals it out in this particular we now speak of, where the Grecian who is counted by the corruption of his country, to be naturally a crafty merchant, a seditious person in all kinds of gouernment, is now become humble, obedient, and peaceable; and at divine service gives shew of more devotion than the Romanist in any place, for ought I have yet seene. But the lamentable calamity of this afflicted & distressed Church once flourishing in all worldly glory (now such as it hath pleased the wild bore to leave it) is able to dissolve a marble heart into streams of tears, & causeth me, in true sense of compassion of their miserie, to wish with the humble petition of a mind pierced with grief, to the iust Iudge of the world, redeemer of mankind, and savior of his people, to cast downe his pitifull eies

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vpon them; to behold on one side his triumphing fierce enemies persecuting without measure; on the other, his poore servants troden downe & persecuted without helpe, hope, or comfort; to dissolue the pride and power of the one, to comfort the astonished and wasting weaknes of the other, with some hope of succour and finall delivery; to inspire the hearts of Christian Princes, (their neighbours) compounding or laying aside their endlesse and fruitlesse contētions, to revenge their quarrell against their vniust oppressor; to deliver now, at length, the Chutch of that bane, the world of that ignominy, mankind of that mōster of *Turkish* tyranny, that hath too long raigned and laied the earth desolate: A small thing were it, if this revenue and treasure were only supplied and maintained out of their goods and labours, or if their bodies and lives were onely wasted and worne out in his works & slaueries, it might be suffered, for goods are transitorie, and death the end of all worldly miseries: But to be forced to pay a tribute also of soules to his *Mahomet*, to have their dearest children snatcht out of their bosomes, to be brought vp in his impious abomination, and to be employed in murdering them that begat them, and in rooting out of the faith, wherein they were borne and baptized, and which onely were able to bring their soules into happines. This surely is a calamitie insupportable, and which crieth out vnto God in the heavens for reliefe. How long shall that hateful name of that cursed seducer vpbraide the glorious & lovely name of our Savior? How long shall his falsehood insult ouer our faith? how long shall his barbarisme oppresse our civility, & his tyranny affront the true honor of all lawful government? but how long soever, this stands firme for ever, that the iudgmēts of God are iust, & directed in his sharpest chasticemēts to the benefit of the world and instructiō of men, & sound to vs: that if those people amōgst which our Savior himselfe cōversed, at what time his beautilful steps honored this world, with those Churches which his Apostles so industriously planted, so carefully visited, so

in the west parts of the world.

tenderly cherished, instructed, & confirmed, by so many peculiar Epistles, and for whom they sent vp so many seruent praiers; yea, to whom are remaining those particular letters which the spirit of the highest indited in the very heavens, and sent downe vnto them. Aforewarning of that plague which is since befallen them, if besides these spiritual prerogatives and graces, the puissance and glory of the great empire of the world; the christian empire of *Rome* being translated vnto them, & seated in their lap and with promise of perpetuities to their present prosperity, such then was the strength thereof. Notwithstanding when they fell away frō their first zeale & charitie, when knowledge, the right mother of humilitie, made them swell, when they envied each others graces, which they ought to haue loved, whē abundance of all things bred wantonnes instead of thankfulness. In fine, when they forgot the Author of all their blisse, and fell to snarling and biting one another, instead of putting vp and forgiving of offences, if not for the name of Brotherhood, yet for his sake, who was father and equall lord of both: it pleased God to suffer a base thiefe and a wicked, with a traine of vagabondes (to the eternall reproach of all their wisdom and pollicie) to aduance himselfe so by his industrie and their securitie, and to grow to such an height in his successors and folowers, as to be a terror and amazement to all the world, and to themselues an vnexplicable & vsuccorable calamity to strip them of all those graces and blessings which vngreatfulnes wold not acknowledge, pride and wantonnes did abuse: And to heap on thē as much miserie, as the cruelty of a barbarous and mercilesse tyrant can inflict vpon such as haue no meanes to appease him, save their calamitie alone, or to withstand him, besides their patience, then surely wee who come short of them so farre in pledges of favor, and equall them in our faults, And they who have had in particular the like threatening caveats of cutting off: notwithstanding the virtues of their honorable auncestors, may thinke it high time to enter into a more

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Reformation of the Religion vsed
in the reformation of their wayes, to turne all their pollicies
in contentions against others, into an humble and sincere ex-
amination of our selues, that repentance and amendment
may prevent those punishments which our wickednesse
hath deserved, and obstinacie now highly doth prouoke.

58 It remaineth that I should proceed to the churches
reformed, of which there are many things also to be saide;
But my length in my former (drawne on by multitude and
varietie of matter still freshly presenting it selfe contrary to
my intention) doth cause me to deferre the rest till some o-
ther occasion. In the meane while it doth humbly and gladly
submitte it selfe to be censured and controlled by those of
wisedome, experience and iudgement. For howsoever, I
have waded heerein with that vprightnes of minde, which
becommeth a lover and searcher of trueth: and have also
to my best, avoyded that rashnes and lightnes in beleeve,
which they that are subiect vnto, shall swallow downe ma-
ny a morcell, which will fill them with winde instead of
good iuyce & nourishment: yet viewing on the other side in
such a multitude at this day, perhaps with like integritie, e-
quall warines, more diligence, and manifoldly more means
of certaine informations, have delivered either histories, or
other particular relations, how few there are that have not
stumbled vpon many an error, where they thought was
nothing but plaine ground and trueth: I cannot have anie
affiance or presumption of my good fortune, as to hope to
be the man alone that should hit trueth in all things,

But rather as foreseeing almost an impossi-
bilitie of not often erring
in matter.

FINIS

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